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Horrors of Slavery:

OR, THE

AMERICAN TARS IN TRIPOLI.

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS AND CAPTURE OF THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE PHILADELPHIA; TREATMENT AND SUFFERINGS OF THE PRISONERS; DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE; MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &C. OF THE TRIPOLITANS; PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THAT REGENCY, INCLUDING GEN. EATON'S EXPEDITION; INTERSPERSED WITH INTERESTING REMARKS, ANECDOTES, AND POETRY, ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

WRITTEN DURING UPWARDS OF NINETEEN MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT AND VASSALAGE AMONG THE TURKS.

BY WILLIAM RAY.

"NATURE NE'ER MEANT TO FORM A *SLAVE;*
"HER BIRTH-RIGHT'S *LIBERTY.*"
——*SLAVERY!* THOU ART A BITTER CUP.

STERNE.

TROY:
PRINTED BY *OLIVER LYON,*
FOR THE AUTHOR.
1808.

Dat
E335
.R26

District of New-York, ss.

L. S.

Be it Remembered, That on the Seventh Day of May, in the thirty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, William Ray, of the said District, hath deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:—

" HORRORS OF SLAVERY; or, the American Tars in Tripoli. " Containing an account of the loss and capture of the U. States' " frigate Philadelphia; treatment and sufferings of the Prisoners; " Description of the place; manners, customs, &c. of the Tripoli- " tans; public transactions of the United States with that Regency, " including Gen. Eaton's expedition. Interspersed with interesting " remarks, anecdotes, and poetry, on various subjects. Written " during upwards of nineteen months imprisonment and vassalage " among the Turks. By WILLIAM RAY.

" Nature ne'er meant to form a slave;
" Her birth-right's Liberty.
" ....Slavery! thou art a bitter cup. Sterne."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the U. States, entitled " An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts aad books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act entitled " An act supplementary to an act entitled " An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints.

EDWARD DUNSCOMB,
Clerk of the District of New-York

EXORDIUM.



WHAT has been always cuſtomary,
Legal becomes, and neceſſary;
And, 'mongſt ten thouſand ſtranger things,
When wonder from a volume rings,
Is that anxiety we ſhow,
The writer of the book to know;
Whether he ignorant or wiſe is—
A *knave*, or *fool* with *virtuous* vices;
And hence the practice is to ſhew 'em
In biographic ſketch, or proem:
Here follows, then, or Truth's a liar,
Some pat remarks, if you deſire,
And leiſure have to halt and read 'em,
If not, ſkip o'er, and never heed 'em.

EXORDIUM.

That he was born, you well may know,
For any fool could tell you ſo;
Of whom, perhaps, you wiſh to hear,
The day, the month, the hour, the year:
All theſe we very well remember;
'Twas on the ninth day of December,
In ſeventeen hundred ſeventy-one,
Before the riſing of the ſun,
And juſt, if you'll believe the ſtory,
As chaſte, and bluſhing, fair Aurora
Burſt the claſp'd arms of negro Night,
A Ray from darkneſs peep'd to light.

His father, wiſe as moſt of men,
Found out that five and five made ten;
(But ſtill he taught his docile ſon
That one were three, and three were one)
And prov'd of philoſophic lore,
The more we know, we know the more.
That pain would pain, and pleaſure pleaſe him—
That fire would burn, and froſt would freeze him;
And though he could not name the cauſes
Of planets' motions, and their pauſes,
He judg'd that *black* could not be *white*—
Of courſe, that *darkneſs* muſt be *night;*
Except when ſome eclipſe befell us,
Which by ephem'ris he could tell us.
All this he knew, by perfect rule,
Although he never taught a ſchool;
Never, with all his ſtock of knowledge,
Was graduated at a College,
Where thouſands take their learn'd degrees,
In arts leſs uſeful far than theſe;
And yet the ſon was counted rather
More learn'd and ſkilful than his father.

EXORDIUM.

Now bufy *Fame* and ftaring *Wonder*
Have nearly burft their orbs afunder,
And *Curiofity* ftands tip-toe,
And *Slander's* dying, to let flip too,
And afks what dung-hill of the earth,
Was known by fuch a *crowing* birth?
While fome, yet none but filly affes,
Will judge it to have been Parnaffus.

In hopes it will not blaft the fame of
America, he boafts the name of
American.—" But," fays the Yankee,
" If you will tell me *where*, I'll thank 'e;
" For fince the *country* you have told, Sir,
" What *place*, if I may be fo bold, Sir?
" For afking queftions we are famous,
" And *ftrangers*, therefore, cannot blame us."
O, not at all—what you demand, Sir,
Prompt as a witnefs I fhall anfwer.

Connecticut, to frogs once fatal,
Is the fame State he calls his natal;
A State which other States furpaffes,
For pumpkins, jonny-cakes, molaffes,
Rogues, priefts, attornies, quack-phyficians,
Blue laws, and black-coat politicians;
Where many a father's fon, aye, plenty,
Is father of a fon at twenty;
And many a mother's maid has been
A mother made at feventeen;
And many more, at twenty-fev'n,
Pray more for hufbands than for heav'n;
Where people live, while they have breath,
And die, whene'er they meet with death.
Of Litchfield County's mud and clay,
Was form'd the flefh of WILLIAM RAY;

And Salifbury the very place
Where firft he dar'd to fhew his face:
A county where the feds prevail,
And Selleck Ofborn pin'd in jail,
To prove of *martyrdom* the fitnefs,
By giving to the world a *Witnefs*
That men may *Freedom* have, and lofe her,
Court, and *wed Pow'r*, and then abufe her.

Early in life he went to fchool,
To gather wifdom from a fool;
Who, fenfelefs dolt, no reafon knew why
One had a black, and one a blue eye;
Why fome than other men were taller,
Had longer nofes, or were fmaller;
Nor why fo many fons of Adam
Had not *black fkins*, while others had 'em;
Nor whether that complexion fable
Mark'd Cain, for killing brother Abel;
Nor could he tell us, by *Addition*,
How many quacks made one phyfician;
How many pettifoggers, pliant,
Made one true lawyer to his client;
How many priefts, that cant and whine,
Made one good orthodox divine;
How many pray'rs there muft be giv'n,
To fend one hypocrite to heav'n;
How many prudes, that fancy no man,
Made one chafte, virtuous, honeft woman;
Nor could he tell with *all* his brains,
Take pride from alms and what remains;
Nor yet, although he knew *Subtraction*,
Take *luft* from *love* and leave a fraction;
Nor fhew us, by *Multiplication*,
How many fcoundrels rule a nation,

While many good men, by *Reduction*,
Are brought to priſon and deſtruction.

But he could ſhew, by *Rule of Three*,
As *warfare* is to *butchery*,
So heroes equal guilt exhibit,
To cut-throats, dangling on a gibbet;
And prove, from *Int'reſt*, (which a fact is)
The juſt in word are knaves in *Practice*:
By *Barter*, and by *Loſs* and *Gain*,
How fools *Exchange* their eaſe for pain.

Of Ethicks he knew not a little,
For he could tell us to a tittle,
Though the diſtinction very nice is,
The *names* of virtues and of vices:
That *Friendſhip* nothing meant but *pelf*,
And *Social Love*—to *love one's Self*;
That *Truth* was made—*not to be ſpoken*,
And vows of Honour—*to be broken*;
That rigid *Juſtice* all deteſt,
And *Mercy*, painful to the breaſt;
That *Love of Country* meant the ſame
As *Pride*, *Ambition*, *Pomp*, and *Fame*;
That *Courage*, term it as you will,
Was nought but fear that greater ill
Would *follow*, if we took to flight,
Than *meet* us, if we brav'd the fight;
That *Honeſty*, ſo much applauded,
Had thouſands of their rights defrauded;
So hidden was, ſo marr'd and twiſted,
He could not tell where it exiſted.
And to his knowledge pedagogic,
He added all the pow'rs of *Logic*;
For he could prove from reaſons ſtrong,
That *wrong* was *right*, and *right* was *wrong*;

That is, by Pope's "unerring light,"
He ſhow'd "whatever is, is right;"
And hence, by reaſons full as ſtrong,
Whatever is not, is not wrong;
And thus *probatum eſt* it ſtood,
That there is neither bad nor good.—
But halt—the muſe flies quite too faſt,
And ſome important things has paſt.

Ere yet he reach'd ſeptennial years,
To raiſe his hopes, and calm his fears,
Reſpecting what ſome zealots tell,
How ſpan-long infants roaſt in hell,
Who into it were luckleſs hurl'd,
Before they ever ſaw the world;
'Twas found expedient he ſhould know
The terms of future bliſs or woe.
The firſt was infantile baptiſm,
And then to learn his catechiſm,
Dug from the Scriptures' deepeſt mines,
By Reverend Synod of Divines.
In which they taught him to believe,
The ſnake that courted granny Eve,
Though like a *gentleman*, ſo civil,
Was his "*grim majeſty, the Devil;*"
Who with his tongue took ſuch a grapple,
He coax'd her to accept an apple;
Which ſhe, like any well-bred woman,
With her lov'd huſband ſhar'd in common;
And being left to free volition,
Brought us into our curs'd condition.
Yet God himſelf ordain'd the ſin,
Which could not otherwiſe have been;
That God, from all eternity,
By his immutable decree,
Elected ſome of Adam's race,

The minions of his partial grace;
Infpir'd the Gofpel to believe,
Compell'd his mercy to receive;
From crimes atrocious call'd, or driv'n,
And dragg'd by violence to heav'n;
While far the greater part remain
Predeftin'd to eternal pain;
The objects of his wrath, created
On purpofe to be reprobated;
Mock'd by an ineffectual call,
And told that grace was offer'd all;
Debar'd from ever *faith* receiving,
And damn'd at laft for *not believing*.
Like one who fpreads a free repaft,
And calls his fervants all to tafte,
Admits a few to be his brothers,
And bolts his door againft the others,
Then punifhes, with ruthlefs hand,
Thofe who obey'd not his command.

To bring fuch dogmas reconcil'd,
Would puzzle any *common child;*
He, therefore, while his faith was fprouting,
Began to doubt, and ftill is doubting;
But here he refts, here all his truft is,
That God both merciful and juft is,
And will not plunge our fouls in woe,
For crimes fix thoufand years ago.

In childhood, plumbs, and cakes, and toys,
Thefe conftituted half his joys;
And buckles, buttons, or a knife,
Were valued dearly as his life;
The mirror pond, the gurgling rill,
Whereon he built his little mill;
The fling, whence buzz'd the pebble miffile,

The jews-harp, whirligig, and whiſtle:
But, leſt we weary your attention,
With things too trifling *now* to mention,
With ſweeteſt joys of life we'll claſs them,
And ſo in fond remembrance paſs them,
And come to tell you how he acted,
As time and years his life protracted.

In youth, the tyranny of paſſions,
And verſatility of faſhions,
Though ſober call'd, by ſome, and ſteady,
Made his head whirl till it was giddy;
For pleaſure led him ſuch a caper,
He thought he could not well eſcape her;
And *Happineſs*, *Contentment's* daughter,
He fancied once that he had caught her;
But on a ſtrict examination,
Lo! 'twas the termigant, *Vexation!*
That, like a Vixen, ever follow'd
Thoſe pleaſures not by temp'rance hallow'd;
That gaudy clothing, brilliant dances,
And *love*, which all the ſoul entrances,
That viſion of a viſion, which is
A phantom all the world bewitches,
To follow in a certain train
The path that often ends in pain,
Was happineſs: but, ah! we find
'Tis ſeated only in the mind,
By reaſon into truth conducted,
And ſound morality inſtructed;
Arm'd with philoſophy t' oppoſe
Our paſſions, worſt of all our foes.

At twenty-two he enter'd trade;
But Fortune, that capricious jade,
Soon as he mounted on her back,

Fled frifking from the beaten track,
Took to the woods, through thorn and brier,
And left him fprawling in the mire.
While creditors' voracious jaws,
Curfing infolvents and their laws,
Yawn'd, frothing like a beaft that battles,
To fwallow all his goods and chattels;
Each fwearing he'd have what was his own,
Or end the debtor's life in prifon.
In fuch a juft and noble caufe,
They had the fanction of the laws;
Which give us liberty to feize,
And murder debtors, if we pleafe;
For when they nothing have to give,
They fhould not any longer live:
So erft the wifdom of the ftate,
Hatch'd from fome Dutchman's pond'rous pate,
Ordain'd that each infolvent debtor,
To live and pay his debts the better,
Should, or might be, forthwith arrefted,
And creditor's with right invefted
To feize his property, while any,
And when he'd not another penny,
To take his body, fick or well,
And drag it to a *worfe* than hell;
Depriv'd of all the joys of life,
Perhaps a family and wife,
Camelion-like to feed on air,
Or worfe, on mis'ry and defpair;
Without the means or pow'r to pay,
Much longer than the *judgment* day,
Unlefs the three-fourth act he take,
Or make his fortune with a break;
If not, why let the rafcal lie,
What is it for a man to die,

Who muſt diſcharge, ſooner or later,
The debt he owes to mother nature?
And 'twill be own'd by any dunce,
He'd better pay them all at once;
For death's a debt we all muſt pay,
Our life's expences to defray.

Such is the ſample Candour draws,
To ſhew the mildneſs of our laws,
Which force men to abſcond or fly,
Turn ſwindlers, or in priſon die;
He, therefore, to avoid the times,
Embark'd to viſit foreign climes.

And by experience 'twill be found
That man is man the world around;
Whether in *England* we behold him,
Fawning round tyrants that have ſold him,
Licking the hand that chains him down
To *bleed* for *honour* and the crown;
Or *Ireland*, where an oppoſition
To chains and halters is ſedition;
(And 'tis confeſt that many need 'em,
Who anarchy entitle freedom;)
Or whether farther we advance,
And take a peep at reeking *France;*
Where ſanguinary Robeſpierre
Serv'd prieſts as we do poultry here,
And thought no more of cutting throats
Of men and women, than of ſhoats;
Where Bonaparte, with flag unfurl'd,
Spreads carnage o'er the trembling world,
And conquers kingdoms, ſtates, and nations,
Eaſier than lovers do their paſſions;
Or *Spain*, where horrid inquiſition
Extorts the curſe of ſuperſtition;

Or *Portugal*, where priests from heav'n,
To people are as one t' eleven;
Whether a *Russian Czar* he shines,
Or labours in Siberian mines;
Or pass to *Asia*, if you can,
Whose God's a corpulent old man;
Or *Africa*, where men are barter'd
For gewgaws, or for market quarter'd;
On *Barb'ry's* coast, where dread Bashaws
At pleasure make and break their laws;
Where tyranny, with hungry zeal,
Devours his thousands at a meal,
Yet hopes to rise to heav'n's high summit,
Through intercession of Mahomet.

Or whether back again we come,
And take a view of things at home;—
At Georgia's southern point begin ye,
And travel up through old Virginia;
What's to be seen where people boast
Of being friends to freedom most?

Behold the lordly planter stand,
The lash still reeking in his hand,
O'er the poor slave, whose only sin is
That his, alas! a sable skin is;
This gives the wretch, whose hide is white,
To flay him an undoubted right;
From country and his friends compel him,
To starve, to murder, or to sell him;
Whose treatment crueler and worse is,
Than that of cattle, swine, or horses;
And e'en they often say the slave
Has not, like them, a soul to save.

Are you republicans?—away!
'Tis blaſphemy the word to ſay—
You talk of freedom?—out, for ſhame!
Your lips contaminate the name.
How dare you prate of public good,
Your hands beſmear'd with human blood?
How dare you lift thoſe hands to heav'n,
And aſk, or hope to be forgiv'n?
How dare you breathe the wounded air,
That wafts to heav'n the negro's pray'r?
How dare you tread the conſcious earth
That gave mankind an equal birth?
And while you thus inflict the rod,
How dare you ſay there is a God
That will, in juſtice, from the ſkies,
Hear and avenge his creatures' cries?
"Slaves to be ſold," hark, what a ſound!
Ye give America a wound,
A ſcar, a ſtigma of diſgrace,
Which time nor you can e'er efface;
And prove, of nations yet unborn,
The curſe, the hatred, and the ſcorn.

And eke, behold our legiſlators
Receiving bribes, and turning traitors;
Our judges, governors, and ſages,
The Catalines of modern ages;
Our clergy, imps of ſuperſtition,
Blowing the conk-ſhells of ſedition;
All, all is topſy-turvy whirl'd,
And vice and folly curſe the world;
You therefore may pronounce an oath,
Our author has a ſhare of both;
And he's a knave, or loſt his ſenſes,
Who to perfection makes pretences.

Yet ſome there are to whom belong
The raptures of the poet's ſong;
Who fiery trials have withſtood,
And prov'd themſelves both great and good.
Amongſt our worthies, count as one,
The great, the peerleſs JEFFERSON.
Illuſtrious Chief! whoſe wiſdom ſhows
The fountain clear, from whence it flows;
Whoſe vaſt and philoſophic mind,
Embraces all the human kind—
Holds to that faith which owns men brothers,
And twenty gods allows to others.
While Europe's threat'ning poſture bore
The ſword of war, the cup of gore;
Whoſe ſhips on ours made depredations,
And broke the ſacred laws of nations;
At home, while diſcord, feuds, and treaſon,
Late menac'd Freedom's life to ſeize on,
His firmneſs, prudence, and his ſkill
Keeps peace and ſafety with us ſtill;
Columbia triumphs o'er her foes,
And ſmiles and bloſſoms like the roſe.

But, tardy Muſe, come, trudge along,
And cloſe the prefatory ſong.

Reader, lay prejudice aſide,
And let calm reaſon be your guide;
If in the following, then, you find
Things not ſo pleaſing to your mind,
And think them falſe, why, diſbelieve them;
Errors of weakneſs? then forgive them;
And let our ſuff'rings and abuſes
For ſev'ral *facts* make ſome excuſes;
And when you're captur'd by a Turk,
Sit down, and write a better work.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

IN a government bottomed on the will of *all*, the life and liberty of every individual citizen becomes interesting to all.

JEFFERSON.

Who search for knowledge, mental food of man,
Roam the wide field, and gather all you can;
Sweet's the repast where reason guides the way,
But, ah! how bitter if from her we stray;
Here taste the product of that barb'rous clime,
Where truth is error—virtue is a crime.
No venal motive has the writer shown,
The Author's benefit is all your own.
Attend, peruse these pages, and you'll find
Just indignation thrill the patriot mind;
Mark the mean rascal, curse th' infernal train,
Who feast on pleasure at th' expence of pain.

ALTHOUGH much general, authentic and interefting information has been conveyed to the public, through the medium of many private and official communications from fundry gentlemen and officers of the United States' navy, relative to our hoftile operations, our pacific tranfactions, or ultimate adjuftment of differences with the power-humbled and recreant Regency of Tripoli; yet no one has given an accurate, full and circumftantial detail, of our capture and fufferings while under the domination of thofe predatory mifcreants and ferocious barbarians.

The moft that has been written on the fubject, or the moft that has met with publicity, are the extracts from Dr. Cowdery's journal, at the conclufion of which, the public were prom-

ised with a larger and more particular relation, to be printed in a pamphlet, or small volume. But, as the Doctor has since relinquished the plan, and as the public anxiety is supposed to be in a measure excited by those cursory and imperfect remarks to enquire for a more full and consummate account of all that might be anticipated from those who endured the horrors of Turkish vassalage, it is thought the following will not be deemed preposterous, or prove unacceptable to such readers whose patriotic bosoms glow with the consecrated fire of American liberty, and whose sympathetic hearts and homogenial souls can participate in others' woes, and derive pleasure from the soft, but manly sensation.

In passing through the subsequent field of narrative, the writer will be guided by the undeviating footsteps of impartial, unprejudiced and undisguised truth; which will inevitably lead to the developement of several unpleasing occurrences, standing as witnesses to prove that petty despotism is not confined alone to Barbary's execrated and piratical shores; but that base and oppressive treatment may be experienced from officers of the American, as well as the British and other navies; that our countrymen, as well as those of other nations, when invested with the robe and cockade of authority, can act the insolent tyrant, inflict tortures for petty offences, and often for no offences at all, and with a contemptible pride and brutal ferocity, that would disgrace the character of a savage despot, stamp an indelible stigma on the name of an American officer.

Born and educated in this unrivalled region of liberty and independence, far from the clanking of the tyrant's chain, secure from the lacerating scourges of his sanguinary myrmidons; remote from the view of slavery's pallid visage, or the sound of her grief-extorted groans; revering the constitution of our country as the conservator of liberty, which expresly declares that her invaluable blessings are the equal and unalienable right of all mankind; and holding in the highest veneration the judicious administration of our mild and benificent government,

who could reprefs the impetuous impulfe of his feelings? Who, that had an opportunity, could reftrain his hand from portraying, or his tongue from uttering the indignation he has felt, at feeing a fellow-fhipmate, who, perhaps, himfelf had fuffered, fought and bled in the achievement or defence of freedom, for a very trifling unintentional trefpafs of, very probable, an inexplicable injunction, manacled, ftripped, caftigated, flayed, and mangled worfe than the vileft Virginian flave, or the moft atrocious felon?

Far from implicating the whole group of our navy-officers in this condign accufation, infuriate juftice, while fhe points her fulgid fword at a great many with menacing abhorrence, acknowledges that a few deferve difcrimination, and merit, by a juft, generous, and humane difpofition of authority, our unequivocal and unreferved applaufe.

It is very well known by every perfon of intelligence, that a more rigorous exercife of power is tolerated by the martial than the civil law; but why this is expedient, or at all admiffible, the ftatefman and philofopher may determine; it is certain that it is made the pretext for that domineering haughtinefs, unjuftifiable feverity and defpicable fuperiority affumed over the refiftlefs objects of their difpleafure, by thofe who are poffeffed of ambition, power, or office of dictatorial command; while the Britifh navy is referred to as the great and perfect paradigm of our emulous imitation.

It may appear really furprifing that failors, after fo generally, and we may fay univerfally complaining of the harfh and illiberal ufage they meet with in our fervice, fhould fo foon forget the fmart of the lafh, and enter again into a fituation which they fo ferioufly deprecate, and fo folemnly promife to avoid; but the fact is, their minds, actions and paffions being long under reftraint, like water, obftructed by a mound, when let loofe overflows its channels, they lofe themfelves in the torrent of diffipation and lafciviousnefs, and are caught like fifhes when the pond is drained; and like them, impatient to return to their

congenial and favourite element, they plunge again into the vortex of the ocean, and entangle themſelves with perplexities, from which they are unable to extricate their mind, until the tedious rotine of another cruiſe.

The gen'rous tar, whose dauntless spirit braves
War's blood-dy'd squadrons thund'ring on the waves,
Facing grim death in all his hideous forms,
By tempests blacken'd and array'd in storms,
Mounts the high mast and danger's host defies,
Midst billows, raging to assault the skies;
Pierc'd by the wind and palsied by the cold,
By hunger tortur'd, still his breast is bold;
Who bleeds our freedom and our fame to save,
What's his reward? the treatment of a slave.

Theſe are not the chimerical rants of exaggerating fantaſy, nor the vindictive effuſions of invidious reſentment for perſonal injuries; for I never received the leaſt chaſtiſement while I was in the ſervice; but they are reflections which originate from a ſympathetic ſource, and from an innate abhorrence of every ſpecies of oppreſſion. No perſon will deny but that it is juſt and abſolutely requiſite to obſerve and maintain a ſtrict diſcipline and proper ſubordination on board of a man of war; but this is no reaſonable excuſe for a cruel, vain and magiſterial coxcomb of an officer, to diſplay his diabolical diſpoſition, by puniſhing men for frivolous faults or errors, with the auſterity of a Weſt-Indian ſlave-driver, and inhumanity of a Tripolitan or Algerine.

That this is the real truth, aſk any ſeaman that has ever ſailed in the States' ſervice, and he will corroborate the aſſertion; or aſk thoſe tumid imps of tyranny themſelves, and they cannot deny it. But if the ſeaman meets with unmerited inſult and undeſerved punition, the fate of the luckleſs marine is ſtill more unpropitious, and his perturbated life far more calamitous; for, by an inveterate antipathy, an implacable animoſity between a ſailor and a ſoldier, the latter is made the miſerable object of inceſſant contumely and querulous abuſe—reprehend-

ed or corrected for the omiffion of duties which are out of his power to perform; and, like the haplefs infant, by the infamous favage Arnold, lafhed to the bone for not underftanding what he has never been taught, and never had an opportunity to learn. But without fear or affection for any of them, I fhall pafs, for the prefent, over many tranfactions which would brand with infamy the agents of them, and come to a more regular concatenation of exemplifying circumftances and co-operative remarks.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER II.

COMMENCEMENT OF SERVICE.

——I am a soldier, older in practice, abler than yourself to make conditions. CASSIUS.

Our foes by earth and heav'n abhorr'd,
'Tis God-like to unsheath the sword. PAINE.

WHO's he that walks with such a swagger—
A cockade, uniform and dagger,
Holding this motto up to view,
"I am much better, sir, than you?"
Why, 'tis our officer—young Davy—
A smart lieutenant of the navy;
Who's challeng'd—though they call him cruel,
Twice twenty bumpers to one duel,
And fought where clubs, not cannon, rattle,
A score of watchmen in one battle;
Wounds he's receiv'd—in all his clothes,
And bled profusely——at the nose;
For which, grown bolder still and braver,
He basks in governmental favour.
And who is he with feather'd head,
A coat broad-fac'd with warlike red?
That blust'ring—tell me what it means?
Why, he's lieutenant of marines;
Whose duty 'tis to follow fashions,
To draw his pay and eat his rations;
T' enlist recruits for calls emergent,
To drill them, or to make his serjeant—
Defraud them out of half their pay,
Then flog them, if a word they say;
For all the art of war consists
In pay-rolls and provision lists,
Well fill'd, which men are forc'd to sign—
This, this is martial discipline.

On the 13th of June, 1803, I was preffed into the maritime fervice of the U. States:—I fay preffed, for I was compelled by an irrefiftible, horrific band of complicated wants, commanded by imperious neceffity, more formidable, and as rapacious as a Britifh prefs-gang. But that a man fhould be reduced to this degrading alternative in a free and profperous country, overflowing with all the good things of this life, where every honeft employment meets with liberal and prompt encouragement, and prudent induftry with due reward, may excite fenfations of inquifitive furprife, in the breafts of thofe who are unacquainted with the difpofitions of mankind to opprefs the unfortunate, and who have never tafted the naufeous cup of adverfity: but to thofe who have ever experienced the freakifh viciffitudes of verfatile Fortune, it will not appear incredible; but as a natural and inevitable fucceffion of confequences, that a man driven from his family and friends by a ruthlefs hord of exorbitant, vindictive, and infatiable creditors; deftitute of all pecuniary refources—of no mechanical occupation, or profeffional employment—unaccuftomed and unable to perform manual labour—among fufpicious and inhofpitable ftrangers, more void of humanity than Turkifh barbarians, fhould be brought to as great an extremity of abject mifery, as to enter in a private capacity, as one of thofe whofe "folly fights for kings, or dives for gain."

I doubt not but that many a brave and patriotic veteran, who deemed it no difparagement to fhoulder his mufket and buckle on his knapfack, to repel the nefarious aggreffions of our fell enemy, in the lowering days of our revolutionary conteft, wiil feel a virtuous indignation pervade his war-worn breaft, when he is informed that it has now become almoft as ignominious for an American to ferve his country as a private voluntary foldier—to embark in defence of our infulted rights, or to guard our extending commerce from furreptitious depredations, as it would be to be fent to a corrigible penitentiary

for felonious mifdemeanors. And unlefs better encouragement were given, or fufficient inducements or honors held out to infpire emulation; were it not for the fafcinating influence of fpecious flattery, with collufive promifes of preferment, added to the bewildering, reafon-deftroying auxiliary of fpirituous liquors, our barracks would be inhabited but by rats, and our fhips of war, by pigmy officers, without men to command.

When hope forsakes us, and when fear alarms,
The well-fill'd bottle hath a thousand charms;
Eager 'tis drank; but woe to him that drains;
Increasing horrors, and augmented pains,
Take full possession of the sinking heart,
Tear ev'ry wound, and rankle ev'ry smart.
And when intoxication fires the brain,
The voice of sober reason pleads in vain;
Deaf to all counsel, blind to ev'ry rule,
The man of wisdom sinks beneath a fool;
He construes evil what is meant for good,
And striks the hand out-stretch'd to give him food.

I need not tell thofe who are under the life-wafting, health-deftroying dominion of this peftiferous beverage, that fo tranfcient, fo fallacious is the mitigation of woe the intemperate ufe of it promifes, that,

To ardent spirits when we fly,
To seek from pain relief;
It adds a groan to ev'ry sigh,
A pang to ev'ry grief.

But we muft not decry the prevalence of a cuftom which is found to be fo neceffary and effective in procuring our navy to be manned, and our army to be fupplied with thofe living engines of vengeful carnage, and which produces a large proportion of the revenue that goes towards defraying the expences which they incur. Such is the logic made ufe of by thofe who wifh to fee our army and navy in a progreffive ftate of

terror and defence. And, indeed, under the exifting circumftances of affairs, while fuch opprobrium is made the common appendage to the name of a foldier, or man of war's man; nothing but the infanity of Rum, violence, perfidy, artifice, or the moft diftreffing penury, can draw men into a fituation, where, inftead of meeting with promifed fmiles, approbation, reward and honour, they find nothing but frowns, chaftifement,c ontempt, and difgrace.

It is true in fome important achievement of arms, when fome obftinate and bloody conflict has been fuftained with intrepidity, and terminated with glory and fuccefs, they often participate in the general indifcriminate plaudits beftowed on victorious valour; and fometimes the tear of humanity is fhed over the war-mangled foldier and death-wounded tar; but the lambent blaze ofglory foon devolves on, and is refracted by the officers, and with the breath of applaufe reverberating to the chief commander; the whole merit of his men having fought valiantly, is afcribed to his infpiring courage and fuperiour fkill; and for which he fhares adequate honour and reward, while nothing is left to thofe who "bore the burthen and heat of the day," but poverty and fcars. The ftratagems alfo made ufe of to allure men into the fervice, are as bafe and atrocious as their treatment is often afterwards fevere and tyrannical. A marine crimp ferjeant or corporal is employed, who, for the fake of ingratiating himfelf in the favour of his officers, or for the "mighty mead of the large honours" that he is flattered will redound upon his empty head, armed with a whinyard of enormous length and huge dimenfions, fufpended by a leathern ftrap paffing over the fhoulder and croffing the dauntlefs breaft of the champion, on which is a large harnefs buckle, polifhed, and glittering like the fhield of Achilles; on his fnow-powdered fconce a cap; on the front of which a large brafs plate, with the American fpread eagle, like the helmet of Hector, dazzling all eyes with the effulgence of its beams; on the fummit of whofe terrific brow, nods in towering panoply the blood-

dyed insignia of war, the crested plumage of the martial goose; thus equipped, and taking a few others arrayed in nearly as gorgeous attire and armour as himself, assisted by the enlivening and necromantic sound of warlike music, and a few dollars in his pocket, marches forth with as much ostentation, at the head of his band of patriotic heroes, as a commander in chief of a provisional army, in times of profound peace. The first object of probable success that he meets with is, perhaps, an honest Hibernian, who has but one fault, and that is, he loves his worst enemies better than himself—he has a helpless, indigent family, who depend on his laborious industry for daily subsistence; but the sons of Erin will sometimes have a drinking frolick, and he has just awakened from a sleep of intoxication; his pockets emptied, by being a little too generous in giving to, and treating those who are the first to censure his prodigality; or, perhaps, cozened or pillaged by a dishonest pick-pocket landlord—ashamed to go home and meet the dreadful frowning of his injured helpmate—shivering with the cold—sick at the stomach—burning like Tantalus with thirst, and not a friendly drop to warm or cheer his desponding bosom; he would almost sacrifice his existence for one oblivious draught of the cordial of his pangs. The perspicacious crimp, the servile, sycophantic tool of his authoritative master, observing him to be in hopeless perplexity, and not very erroneously conjecturing the situation of his mind, perceiving him to be a manly, robust looking fellow, generously invites him to share the bounties of a flowing bowl. This is an act, a favour, a proof of disinterested hospitality, that moves in his perturbed breast the soft emotions of pathetic gratitude. He reiterates the catholicon, and finds his spirits exhilerated, and his bosom glows with grateful ardor to manifest to his friendly benefactor the feelings of his soul; and overtly deposits in his breast the secrets of his condition. The happy life of a soldier is delineated in all its captivating forms, and delusive, facinating colours; until the enraptured listener becomes infatuated with the phantasma, and continuing to im-

bibe the Lethe of his cares, he grows inebriated, and falls an eafy prey to the prowling banditti. But who can defcribe the agonies of his mind, when he awakes to fober reafon and ferious reflection? when he hears the chiding voice of his wife, and fees the reproachful tears of his children? The fcanty ftipend of his fervices is fcarcely fufficient to keep them from the jaws of hunger; and if he is fent to fea, he can leave them but a moiety of that; but it is too late to retract; he has taken the dreadful, irrevocable oath of fidelity to his adopted country, and three years of the moft debafed fervitude is his unavoidable lot. In vain may the widowed wife, with tears in her eyes, and an infant at her throbbing breaft, plead the deplorable wretchednefs of herfelf and her helplefs, guiltlefs babes; in vain may fhe remonftrate againft the villainous advantage that was taken of her hufband being in a paroxifm of ebriety; in vain may fhe proffer the facrifice of her houfehold furniture, and every cent that fhe can mufter, to hire a fubftitute; in vain is one procured. The inflexible integrity of the commanding officer will not vouchfafe to relinquifh his honourable title to a prize fo valuable, and fpurns with infolent threats the fupplicating mediations of the friendlefs, heart-broken, difconfolate woman.—The next, very probably, is an artlefs, country bumpkin, as ignorant of the ways and manners of this deceitful world, as we are of the next. He has juft arrived at twenty-one, and emancipated himfelf from domeftic flavery—the pertinacious reign of his arbitrary father; and having an infatiable curiofity to fee how people live in the metropolis, he poffeffes himfelf of a little cafh, and, travelling to the diftant feaport, wanders with fauntering gaze through the decorated ftreets of the voluptuous emporium of commercial refort. The pompous coach-and-four; the rich and fplendid articles of pleafure and of ufe, exhibited for fale; the brilliant group of fair and charming belles; the tawdry circle of facetious beaux; the crouded theatre's enchanting fcenes; the rapturous dulcet ftrains of choral mufic, and all the namelefs baubles of the novel place, feize upon his

giddy brains, and his diſordered imagination half claims the wealth of thouſands as his own. He ſoon finds himſelf drained of the moſt neceſſary ingredient to gain a paſſport to the temple of ſenſuality, and meeting with the aforeſaid kidnapper, he ſells himſelf for honour, with the ſpecious promiſes of rapid promotion. But he ſoon, alas! wiſhes himſelf with his deſerted parents and his ruſtic companions; and, like the prodigal ſon, would be glad to feed on huſks, with his father's ſwine.

The third is a young man of a liberal and refined education; but has no profeſſion, and is without the means to purſue the ſtudy of one, deſtitute of friends and ſupport. He is not qualified for any employment, ſave that of ſchool-keeping, and finds it very difficult to obtain even the unthankful ſituation of a country pedagogue, and more difficult, when obtained, to diſcharge, to general ſatisfaction, the critical duties required by capricious parents. He is mortified, chagrined, and diſcomfited; and being unſkilled in the duplicity and fineſſe of mankind, he is eaſily duped, by alluring wiles, to become a candidate for a corporal or ſerjeant. If it ſhould be ſaid that "ſuch diſcouraging repreſentations ought not to be made, and that we muſt have ſailors add ſoldiers"—theſe are the very arguments adduced by the Britiſh to juſtify their infernal policy in impreſſing ſo many ſeamen: "they muſt have men," is the plauſible, but helliſh pretext for all their diabolical preſs-gangs, and for the numerous inſults offered to our nation, by dragging our brave tars from under their own colours, to compel them to fight under thoſe of his moſt Satanic, not gracious nor ſacred majeſty. If we muſt have men, let appropriate honours, comparative emolument, and ſuitable gratitude be extended to thoſe who riſque their lives in the protection or defence of their country's rights, and wipe from the honourable appellation of ſoldier or ſailor, that ungrateful tarniſh of vulgar prejudice, and there would be no difficulty in finding plenty of either. Fired by a laudable ambition, or patriotic emulation, our youth would ſtrive to rival each other in being foremoſt in rallying

round the ſtandard of American independence, at every emergency of danger, and would glory alike in the muſket of the field, or the trident of the ocean.

At the time of my entering the ſervice, no perſon could have been in more diſtreſſing circumſtances. I had been ſick among ſtrangers until I had expended the laſt ſolitary cent I was commander of, and not yet reſtored to health; but was in a debilitated ſtate of convaleſcence. I tried every mean, and exerted every faculty in my power to obtain employment, but in vain. Though often promiſed, and encouraged to purſue, I was as frequently diſappointed. The ſurly, unſociable, churliſh, and ſuſpicious curmudgeons of the interior of Pennſylvania, ſhun an itinerant ſtranger in diſtreſs, as they would a rattle-ſnake or a viper; and you might with more hopes of ſucceſs, expect friendſhip or relief from the Eſquimaux of America, or the wandering Arabs of Aſia, than from the black-Dutch Pennſylvanians; eſpicially, if you add to the appearance of poverty, the epithet of Yankee.

The day previous to my arrival at Philadelphia, as I was walking down the Schuylkill, almoſt exhauſted by laſſitude and woe, pondering with gloomy ſolicitude on my deleterious fate, I came to a ferry, which I was directed to croſs. It was on Sunday, and I ſaw no perſon near the place; but a ſmall houſe, nearly oppoſite, I ſuppoſed was the reſidence of the ferry-man. I advanced to it, and knocked at the door; but no perſon anſwered or appeared. The ſaſh of the window near the front door was raiſed, and I, very naturally concluding that ſome of the people muſt be in or about the houſe, innocently took a look in, to convince me; but ſeeing no perſon, I turned round, and was walking towards a public houſe not far diſtant, when I heard a ſmart voice, and turning obliquely, ſaw a man ſtalking firmly acroſs a field, and making towards me with great rage, aſked me "what I wanted at his

house, and what business I had to peep in at the window of it." I told him, I wished to cross the river, and was looking for the ferry-man.—"You lie, damn you," says he,—"you was going to rob my house." I strove to convince him that I had no guilty designs; but all endeavours to reconcile, seemed only to exasperate him the more, and seizing a large club that lay in the street, began to strike me with all the exertion of his might. I was unable to make any effectual resistance, and he continued his blows with redoubled fury, until a generous Irishman sallied from the tavern, and came to my rescue. He sternly enquired the cause of the fracas, and from both our stories, judging that I was innocent of any evil intentions, in looking in at the window, perceiving that I was indisposed, and being informed that I was a total stranger, vengeance flashed from his eyes, and giving my villainous antagonist a hearty damn or two, with a beatle-like fist he instantly levelled him to the ground, and beat, and mauled him, so unmercifully, that he bellowed like an ox, and raised the people of the Inn, who came running to know what was the matter. After a brief explanation of the affair, they joined in universal imprecations on the scoundrel that dared to use a stranger in such a manner, and advised me to take the law of him. But I told them, if he would acknowledge that he had acted like an infamous villain, and treat all of them to as much as they would drink, I would take no farther notice of the fray. They swore he should do what I required, and give me a dollar in the bargain; or they would beat him twice as much, and get him indicted beside. To which harsh and humiliating decision of justice, the savage caitiff was obliged to submit; for he was surrounded by a rugged half score of the true sons of Hibernia; who are ever ready to evince their manly dispositions to see a stranger not insulted or abused. I mention this as a specimen of Pennsylvanian hospitality, and as an example of quick and commendable, if not legal punishment, for a base

and daftardly action; and I fhall not pretend to deny, that I felt gratified at the tranfaction, and went on my way rejoicing, for a moment; but foon a relapfe of melancholy glooms inveloped the faint glimmerings of tranfcient delight; for although I had what fome might term flattering vifions of bettering my condition in Philadelphia, I had but indifferent hopes of fuccefs, and my portentous apprehenfions of difappointment, on experiment, were unfortunately realized. I now found myfelf in the populous, magnificent, opulent, and flourifhing city of Philadelphia, without a fhilling—without any friend or acquaintance—unable to labour, and too proud to become a mendicant, or fully to divulge the fecrets of my fituation. In this wretched and hopelefs wildernefs of trouble, I inadvertantly ftrayed to the banks of the Delaware; and,

As wand'ring, by suicide tempted to die,
A victim to horrid despair,
The flag of Columbia was hoisted on high,
And wantonly play'd in the air.

I enter'd, in hopes with America's foes,
Some dang'rous, warm conflict to find;
For anxious was I, at that time, to expose
A life I'd have gladly resign'd.

Admitting that imprudence, vice, intemperance, and prodigality, were the primary caufe of my misfortunes, the miferies and horrors of a painful mancipation, and a thoufand concomitant evils and fufferings, in fome degree, perhaps, ought to expiate my follies, and my faults, in the benignant eyes of celeftial Charity; if not, let the immaculate finger of fcowling Cenfure, point at her own image, in the mirror of confcience, and ceafe to vent reproaches, while fhe fees a blot of guilt remaining there.

Before I enter on board the ſhip, to take a luckleſs voyage, I beg the liberty to devote a ſhort chapter to the remembrance of a character with whom I often ſympathiſed in adverſity, and to whom I ſtill find myſelf bound by the ties of mutual ſufferings.

> Of friendſhip, we can only gueſs,
> Until we find it in diſtreſs;
> And nothing but the fire of woe,
> Can try the friend or prove the foe.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER III.

A SKETCH OF BIOGRAPHY.

Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow;
The rest is all but leather, or prunella.

POPE.

I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny.

HANCOCK.

LET British novelists record
The splendid virtues of "my lord,"
And venal poetasters raise
To titled fools the spaniel-praise;
Or, let Americans, for shame,
Extol a Burr's seditious name;
The man of *honesty* and *merit*,
Who holds a noble, gen'rous spirit,
Though not two cents his pockets bless,
Though plung'd in mis'ry and distress,
Though driv'n, by want, to measures which
There's no temptation for the rich;
But who, with blacker crimes and folly,
Are still denominated holy;
That man is of more real worth,
Although an alms-house were his birth,
And ought, and must be counted greater,
Than all the pompous knaves of state are;
And more deserves the world's attention
Than all the Burrites in——*convention.*
Now by these presents all men know ye,
Such is the character I'll show ye.

AMONG my new companions in arms, I observed one to whom I felt myself attracted, by the mysterious magnetism of congenial sympathy. There was something in his physiogno-

my indicative of merit ſuperiour to his ſtation, and to the vacant ſtare of vulgar ignorance. On becoming acquainted with him, I diſcovered that he was no Lord or Duke in diſguiſe, as was common in the days of chivalry and romance, but a mechanic of no ordinary abilities—a ſkillful typographer. And though he had never rendered his life or actions illuſtrious by immolating his fellow-creatures at the impious altar of bleeding war; although he never mounted the heights of power and office by the ſlippery and filthy ſtep-ſtones of wealth and bribery, laid by mercenary paraſites, or hereditary ſlaves; and though he had never acquired the honours and independency of riches by a penurious economy, ſordid avarice, or flagitious ſpeculation: yet, if ever that Phœnix, *honeſty*, was found to tenant the human breaſt, he might be pronounced one of

> "The noblest works of God;"

On which radical and cardinal virtue, to wit, honeſty, were engrafted all the amiable ramifications of the ſocial affections; fidelity in friendſhip, diſintereſted generoſity, unbounded benevolence, and univerſal philanthropy. He was learned, without pedantry; intelligent, without loquacity; ſerious, without hypocriſy; cheerful, without levity; and communicative, without vanity. But too great a portion of ſenſibility frequently conducted him into follies, imprudence, indiſcretions and difficulties; and ſober reflections often made him miſerable. He poſſeſſed no contemptible genius, and wrote ſeveral excellent things; but, like the unfortunate Chatterton, was too modeſt to give them to the world. He informed me that he was born in the city of Dublin, although by his dialect you would not judge him to be an Iriſhman. His father was a reputable mechanic, and kept a ſhop oppoſite the former manſion-houſe of that eccentric genius, the vivacious, learned and patriotic Dean Swift. He was a rigid Methodiſt, a claſs-leader among thoſe puritans, and early inſtilled into the minds of his

children, the principles of that Religion, to whofe gloomy dogmas I have heard him frequently afcribe the origin of much unhappinefs. For being taught that the leaft deviation from the line of perfection, either in thought, word, or action, called down the wrath of heaven upon mankind, and witnefsing the frailties and imperfections of our natures, created in his mind awful apprehenfions of future mifery. His father, defigning him for the facerdotal functions, fent him to an eminent feminary of learning; where he continued until fome divifions in the family fruftrated the plan of his farther progrefs in his ftudies. The old gentleman had married his fecond wife, and fhe proved to be a Xantippe. An implacable malignity towards the fon, perfuaded the father to take him from fchool, and fend him fifty miles into the country, to learn the trade of a ftay-maker. Here he was treated with a feverity that rendered his life almoft unfupportable, for three tedious years, before he prevailed on his father to revoke his indentures, the ties of which, by his mafter's abufes, had become forfeit and nugatory. He was, therefore, called home; and after a fhort time had elapfed, was put to a printer; where he remained until he had perfected himfelf in that ufeful, noble, and prefervative art of all arts. During which time, a heart like his was not indifferent to the charms of the fair, nor invulnerable to the Indian-like arrows of the fightlefs deity of love. He became enamoured of a worthy clergyman's lovely daughter. Their paffion was reciprocal, and flattering hope, that fupernal charmer of the world below, foreftalled to their enraptured imaginations the delectable elyfium of connubial joys. But death, that cruel defpoiler of the faireft works of heaven, rifled from his arms the rich gem of his happinefs, and tore the beloved maid from his bleeding and forlorn bofom.

The barm of difcontent was now fomenting the cup of infurrection in that infulted and oppreffed country, and being a warm republican, fafety, as well as the hopes of accumulating

property, or obtaining a livelihood with more facility, and of enjoying the ineſtimable bleſſings and privileges of peace, liberty and independence of ſentiment, prompted him to ſeek an aſylum in the tranſatlantic regions of the United States. He took a filial, affectionate, and final valediction of his pious father, and landed in New-York, where he wrought journey-work for a year or two; but that deletery peſtilence, the yellow fever, like the deſtroying angel, ſpread the dark mantle of death over thouſands of its devoted inhabitants, and to avoid which he directed his way to the city of Philadelphia. He continued here for ſeveral years; but was diſappointed in both places of his expectations. Wages, it was true, were tolerable good; but when earned, difficult to be collected; and board, contingent expences, and articles of clothing were in proportion; ſo that the difference, in his favour, between America and Ireland was not ſo great in his occupation, as common report had repreſented. He made out, however, to maintain himſelf genteely: but ſo many of his countrymen flocking to ſee him, and being ſomewhat liberal, he could not ſave enough to eſtabliſh a preſs of his own. For although he was *typically* as great a man, he was not a Franklin in economy; and I have frequently heard him cenſure the parſimony of that lightning-tamer, when in London, boarding with a poor widow, who ſupported herſelf and family by victualling and ſelling beer, he was too avaricious to afford himſelf the uſe of that nutricious beverage, and drank, as a ſubſtitute for that and for coffee, the vapid doſe of water-gruel; thereby diſappointing the woman in the trifling gains which ſhe expected from him, and which ſhe received from other boarders. But with due deference to him and his "whiſtle," we return to the ſubject. At length he got entangled in a love-ſnare, and before he could extricate himſelf from this labyrinth of danger, he found himſelf involved in pecuniary embarraſſments, and the idea of not being able to diſcharge a debt when demanded, wrought ſo forcibly upon the ſenſibility of an upright heart, that he aban-

doned his mind to gloomy reflections, to dispel which he had recourse to the worst of all poisons, and one day meeting with a nominal friend of his, a person with whom he had formerly boarded, and who had now become a crimp, to avenge himself of his wife's infidelity, he was prevailed on by the insidious blandishments of glazing friendship to take a little too much of this antidote of despair, and committing amnesty on his reason, subscribed to the indentures of war, and became an apprentice for the third time in his life, to the trade, art, or mystery of homicide.

The next morning, awaking from his catalepsis, he could not be convinced that he had relinquished the press for the musket, until the supercilious airs, and dogmatical orders of his imperious new masters, gave him a *type* of what would be *printed* on the *parchment* of his back, if he should refuse to *compose* and reconcile himself to the strict *letter* of their commands.

His typographic friends, hearing of his *new edition* of war tactics, came to see how he looked, *newly bound*, *gilt*, and *lettered* in *cowskin*. They seriously *perused* the prognostic *pages* of his fate. They advised him to decamp, provided he could not obtain an abrogation of his enlistment—offered to advance him money to discharge his debts, and for other purposes. But he frankly told them that he would not desert from under the flag of the United States, to which he had sworn to be true, for the consideration of thousands. But would thank them if they would use their efforts to obtain for him an honourable discharge, by procuring another person to take his place; which was all he asked; for his creditors had been to see him, and told him if he could exonerate himself from the obligations of his recent contract, they would forgive him one half of their demands, and give as long a time to pay the rest, as he in reason would wish or ask. They therefore went to the commanding officer, and he promised to accept of a substitute and discharge him. But before one could be found, a

young man, an acquaintance of his, came to fee him, got intoxicated, and was warm for enlifting; but the man having a family, and a good trade, knowing the poignant remorfe that would follow on his being reftored to reafon, he ingenuoufly diffuaded him from his purpofe. This being promulgated by fome of their pragmatical pimps, called down the dreadful vengeance, and awful fulminations of the officers, who fwore they would flog him if he ever attempted to difcourage another friend of his from entering the fervice—that they would not difcharge him on any account, and that fuitable precautions fhould be taken to prevent his deferting.

The United States frigate Philadelphia was now lying nearly oppofite the barracks in the river Delaware, demanding, waiting for, and receiving repairs; of which he was fhortly fent on board, with ftrict orders not to let him leave her, and all hopes or profpects of redemption from this ligneous hell, until the period of a cruife, were blafted and deftroyed.

A few days after he was fent on board, and before the rigid laws and regulations of the fhip were known, and, in fact, they are never taught but by the rope's-end, or the cat, when all hammocks were piped down in the evening, he happened to be, with many others, on the birth-deck. There were no ladders fhipped, and the hatchways being pretty high, and he but a fhort man, and not very nimble withal, found it impoffible to get on deck in proper time; and feeing one of his meffmates above, earneftly requefted him to pafs his hammock down; which he faithfully promifed to perform. But by fome precipitate miftake, he handed a wrong hammock, and the one intended was left on deck until the reft were all carried below. The heinous and unpardonable crime of leaving a hammock a few moments too long in the nettings, on that confecrated platform, the quarter-deck, was now to be made known and punifhed. The mark and number were examined, and it was found to be a marine's. This was matter of great exultation amongft the cockade-gentlemen, and more fo, when

it was found to be the perfon's I am fpeaking of. Now was the time to wreak due vengeance for his paft offences. He was called, and without being permitted to fpeak a word in his defence, was ordered, with the moft horrid maledictions, inftantly to ftrip off his jacket. A boatfwain's mate was fummoned to attend, and, with a rope of enormous fize, ordered to give the "damn'd rafcal" three dozen with all his might! This barbarous order was fo faithfully executed, by the unfeeling ruffian, that the delinquent's back exhibited a fpectacle difgraceful to human nature. From his neck to his waift it was bloody with gafhes, and livid with contufions. Complaint was made to the officer of marines for this unlawful immanity, but to no effect. This is a folemn fact, and might be proved by hundreds. Heavens! thought I, is this the ufage we are to expect in the fervice of our country?—Are men to be condemned without a hearing, and punifhed without a caufe? Tortured without mercy, and murthered with impunity?

It is obvious, that bafe malverfation was the caufe of his enlifting—his commendable generofity in perfuading his friend from forfaking an indigent family, depending on his labour for fupport, to bring himfelf into a defpicable bondage, the caufe of his not being relinquifhed, according to promife; and the mean fpirit of revenge in his officers, the virtual caufe of his fubfequent fufferings in Turkifh fervitude. Citizens of America! are thefe things too trifling to be taken notice of?—Is it a matter of no confequence that an unfortunate foreigner, driven by the harpies of tyranny to feek a refuge under the fhadows of the American Eagle's wings, fhould be hawked by the vultures of perfidious peculation, and revengeful malice, and have his flefh beat, bruifed, and dilacerated for no offence at all?—And becaufe a man is a private marine, muft he endure every infult, fhame, and abufe?—And fhall it not be mentioned, becaufe it will difcourage others from becoming the dupes of ftratagem, and the objects of tawdry mifery, de-

rifion, and ignominy? If fome exalted perfonage, "ftuck o'er with titles, and hung round with ftrings," meets with the leaft fancied wrongs, how foon does the clarion of public animadverfion, filled by the breath of refentment, blow the tidings, and blaft the perpetrators?—And fhall an honeft, worthy character, though walking in the obfcure paths of private life, receive from men commiffioned by our Executive, who derives a meafure of its power from the loweft ranks of fociety, fuch unauthorized and unmerited cruelties, and not be allowed even to complain?

Be affured, it fhall be my bufinefes and delight, to expofe, in the following pages, every act of cruelty, every abufe of authority, that I witneffed, during my continuance in the fervice of the United States. But, in juftice to the character of Captain Bainbridge, it ought to be mentioned, that the foregoing was not done by his orders.

This is only one inftance among a thoufand; but this alone is fufficient to verify what is predicted in the antecedent part of this work, viz. that bafe and oppreffive, unjuft and tyrannical treatment marks the features, and difgraces the name of that tyranny-foftered infant, our navy.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER IV.

SUICIDE ATTEMPTED.

READER! your patience for a while—
'Tis granted—for I see you smile;
But, looking gravely on the text,
Ask what catastrophe comes next?
Peruse, peruse a little further,
And hear of love, and almost murther.
Love is the strangest of all creatures,
He lurks in *forms*, and kills in features—
With lips and eyes, and though so simple,
He sometimes murders with a *dimple;*
But most delights to skulk in hearts,
And other precious hidden parts;
Whence creeping slily through the veins,
He takes possession of the brains;
And when he once has enter'd there,
He's metamorphos'd to despair.
Love makes the wisest man a fool,
And reason turns to ridicule;
He wakes, some say, (and faith I know it)
A love-crack'd pedagogue, a poet—
In short, the little blind-fold boy
Is equal friend and foe to joy.

ALTHOUGH I have been mentioning what was tranſacted on board of the Philadelphia, this was unavoidably neceſſary as being connected with the relation I was giving, and I now return to the place from whence I took my departure in the latitude and career of eclat.

Nothing of any great conſequence occurred, from the time I entered, until we were ſent on board of the frigate, excepting the following intereſting circumſtance, and its ſequacious

particulars; which, as it is expected that this volume will fall into the hands of the young and facetious as well as the old and ferious, the warm and fenfuous lover, as well as the cold and ftoical philofopher, with fome apology for the digreffion, I fhall take the liberty to relate: and although it does not participate of the *wonderful*, like many novel tales, it has the merit of not being imported from the manufactories of arif-tocracy, and in quality and fubftance affimilates very nearly to ftrict veracity.

One Sunday, in the afternoon, as a number of us were refrefhing ourfelves under the refrigerant fhade of a wide ex-panding willow, on the delightful banks of the keg-famous Delaware, we perceived a well dreffed man, running with the utmoft pernicity towards the banks of the river, and com-ing to a place where there were fome remains of an old wharf, he precipitated himfelf headlong into the miery dock. A number of fpectators followed, and with many ftruggles and much difficulty, dragging him out, refcued him from the a-byfs of death—the perpetration of fuicide. With every ex-ertion, it was a confiderable time before he was refufcitated.—He appeared to be a man about twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, of a genteel appearance, with a watch in his fob, and money in his pocket. On being reftored to life and fanity, he gave the following account of himfelf, his misfor-tunes, and the caufe of his attempting to commit the rafh and horrible act of felf-murder.

His father, he faid, was an opulent and celebrious practi-tioner of phyfic, in the town of ———, in Maffachufetts, and that he was his only furviving child. His father had giv-en him a liberal education, at the Univerfity in Cambridge, and had defigned him for the ftudy of jurifprudence, to which profeffion he had early imbibed, and ftill retained, the greateft averfion, and was anxious only to embark in the mercantile bufinefs. His difinclination to profecute the ftudy of the call-ing appropriated by his father, was conftrued into a tacit dif-

obedience of his will, want of filial affection, and morofe pervicacity. His father, however, confented to eftablifh him in commerce, provided he would efpoufe the daughter of a friend of his, who was very rich, and had but one child, like himfelf; and as he was a merchant, this would accelerate his projects of commencing and purfuing his favourite occupation.— His contemplated partner for life was not the paragon of beauty, nor the prototype of juvinility; and as his inclinations were prepoffeffed in favour of a filver-fmith's daughter, the magnifying mirror of fancy rendered the former even difgufting. He remonftrated with his father againft the propofed match; but the old man was deaf and contumacious, though not apprifed of his fon's predilection for another lady. At length he became acquainted with the true caufe of his fon's repugnancy to his requifitions, banifhed him from his houfe, and folemnly fwore he fhould never have a cent of his money, nor an item of his property, unlefs he made fuitable retractions, and acceded to his propofals of marrying the merchant's daughter. He was fo fincerely attached to the filver-fmith's daughter, that he found it impoffible to comply with his father's wifhes, and confequently rendered himfelf obnoxious to paternal ire, and threatened indigence and mifery; for the darling object of his affections was poor indeed, as to pecuniary eftimations, but rich in the lore of mental acquirements, and perfonal attractions. He was determined to facrifice the good will of his father to the gratification of his paffion. He had a friend in Philadelphia, with whom he had been long acquainted, on terms of the greateft intimacy, and who fhared his entire confidence and efteem. He had a few years paft migrated to that place, was wealthy, and well eftablifhed in bufinefs; to whom he difpatched a letter, ftating the fad dilemma in which he was intricated, and his refolution not to proftitute his heart to the love of lucre; requefting permiffion, provided it met his approbation, to let him fend his Venus to his charge, and that himfelf would follow in a fhort time, and

be married at his houſe. He was poſitive, that if they eloped together, his father would deviſe means to fruſtrate their plan, by diſcovering the courſe of their flight. In a few weeks, he received a categorical anſwer, fraught with terms of the warmeſt friendſhip, aſſurances of his fidelity, and of his aſſiſtance in procuring him ſome kind of lucrative employment, to enable him to ſubſiſt without the aid of his father. He went to the young lady, told her of his plan, and arrangements, and with ſome difficulty prevailed on her to conſent to his overtures, and, accordingly, ſhe was ſent to Philadelphia. His father ſoon heard of her elopement, and took every vigilant method to prevent his ſon from following, although he did not, as yet, know where ſhe was lodged. He was to follow his charmer, in about four weeks; but, when he attempted to do ſo, was purſued and brought back, by order of his father; and cloſely confined in an upper ſtory, for about three weeks; when he effected his eſcape, through the chamber window, which coſt him the diſlocation of an ancle. He had a horſe and chaiſe at a friend's in town, previouſly prepared for the purpoſe, and with the moſt excruciating pangs, he made out to hobble to the place; but his father had diſcovered the plot, and previouſly bribed the man, not only to refuſe him the means of, but alſo to anticipate his flight, by giving immediate information. When he was denied the chaiſe, with ſlight and laconic ſubterfuge, he inſtantly ſuſpected treachery; and while the man was haſtening to his father's, to give notice of his deſertion, he limped to a ſtage-houſe, near by, and luckily the ſtage was that moment ſtarting. He was helped into it, and whirled off twenty miles from town before they made a halt, but it was the courſe contrary to Philadelphia. Here he found a ſurgeon, who performed what was neceſſary to the reſtoration of his ancle. He hired a man, with a horſe and chaiſe, to take him a few miles back, and then ſteering in a weſtern direction, drove all day and the ſucceeding night, and

at length put up at a tavern, in a little village, "remote from any intercourfe with the town he had left." Here he difmifsed his man and chaife, with ftrict injunctions not to divulge, fhould any one enquire where he was; which was affirmed in the negative. He remained two or three days, for his ancle to gain ftrength. Another chaife was provided, and juft as he was departing from the tavern, he faw two men riding towards them with great celerity. One of them was his father, who had heard of his route by means of the ftage-driver, and the perfon who had taken him to the place where he now was. The old gentleman, infuriate in his wrath, ftruck him feveral times; and hired the man who was about to take him another courfe, to drive him to his home. On their return, his father lodged him in the common jail of the county, and he was treated with no lefs feverity than a malefactor, until the old man received a letter from the merchant in Philidelphia, informed him of the whole intrigue; and as a proof of what he wrote, enclofed the letter of his fon, and one which the young lady had written to her lover, alfo. The whole myftery was now unravelled, by the hand of perfidy, and he immediately wrote an anfwer, that if he would find a match for the young woman, who was now in his power, or be the means, in any manner, of preventing his fon's intended union with her, he would give him a thoufand pounds. That, for fear his fon might come there, he muft remove her to fome other place, and if he fhould come, not to let him fee her at all on any account. As he had now found out the fecret, and had taken fuch effectual meafures to circumvent their defigns, he took his fon from prifon, but ftill kept a ftrict watch over his actions, till he received another letter from the bafe and perfidious merchant of Philadelphia, informing him that he had fent the young lady over the Schuylkill, into the country, to remain in the houfe of a very wealthy Frenchman, who was an old bachelor, and had a very amiable fifter, that was an

excellent performer on the forte-piano; and as a pretext for fending her thither, fhe was to be taught the polite art of that mufic, by the French lady. He had told the Frenchman that fhe was his niece, and had perfuaded her to confent to the collufion; which was no great evidence of the ftability of her mind, or the fincerity of her heart. That he had made her believe this meafure to be abfolutely neceffary to prevent difcovery and complete their wifhes, and that as foon as her lover fhould appear, they would be forthwith joined in the indiffoluble banns of matrimony. That he had feen the Frenchman once or twice, and he feemed to be much enamoured of the young lady, and that he thought it very probable he would proffer marriage, and did not doubt but that fhe might be perfuaded to confent. That if his fon fhould come, he could eafily evade his enquiries, until fomething would tranfpire to cool him at once of his paffion; and that he thought all would operate to ultimate fatisfaction, and reciprocal felicity.

The father now grew lefs vigilent, but the fon more fedulous to effect an efcape from paternal oppreffion; and accordingly he found an opportunity, fecretly to carry his trunk on board of a fchooner, bound to New-York; and agreed with the captain to fecrete him in fome place, until they were out of fight of the harbour. He had availed himfelf of fome cafh by means of fome property given him by his grand-father.—They had not been out but a few hours when a furious ftorm arofe, which lafted three days, difmafted the fchooner, wafhed his trunk, which had been left on deck, overboard, and drove them into Providence, Rhode-Ifland. He had upwards of four hundred dollars in his trunk, and all of his moft valuable clothing; befides a miniature likenefs of its beloved original, fet in gold. He then took the ftage, with about one hundred dollars in his pocket, which was all he had left, and haftened to Philadelphia, with all poffible difpatch. The fchooner was left to be repaired. On his arrival in Philadelphia, he went with the moft impatient expectation to fee his friend and his miftrefs,

but was greatly ſurpriſed and diſappointed on being told, that ſhe had been abſent for a conſiderable time, on a viſit at New-caſtle; but that ſhe was expected home in about a week. He could not be prevailed on to wait twenty-four hours, and a week ſeemed an age. The merchant finding him determined on going to Newcaſtle, in ſearch of her, wrote a letter to a fancied friend he had there, containing a ſhort account of the intrigue, and requeſting him to tell the young gentleman that the object of his enquiry had been at his houſe, but that ſhe was gone with a daughter of his to Baltimore; or make uſe of any other ſubterfuge he thought proper, to elude his ſearches. The merchant delivered this letter to the unſuſpecting young gentleman, with directions where to find his friend. He immediately ſet out, with the fulleſt expectations of finding her at Newcaſtle; and without the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of his friend's perfidy or tergiverſation. The letter was handed to the gentleman to whom it was addreſſed, who read it with viſible agitation. "I never had but a ſlight acquaintance with the author of the letter," ſaid he, "and yet he has taken the liberty, indirectly, to tell me I am a villain—infamous ſcoundrel! does he imagine that I am to take an agency in a love intrigue, and make myſelf at once a liar, a promoter of treachery, fraud, falſehood, and, in ſhort, as great a raſcal as himſelf?" The young man was petrified with aſtoniſhment. "Young man," ſaid he, "you have been baſely deceived"—and gave him the letter. He read it with violent emotions. It contained, as before obſerved, a brief and curſory detail of the whole plot, and of the ſtratagems that had been uſed to dupe him; but did not mention where ſhe was. In the mean time the French gentleman had become paſſionately in love with his ſiſter's pupil, and the abovementioned merchant had been to ſee her, and uſed all his rhetorick to perſuade her to marry the Frenchman. Now was a fortunate and the only time to have it accompliſhed. He told her that her lover had been there on his way to Baltimore; that he had abandoned the

idea of marrying her, and called only to tell her ſo, and to aſſiſt her in getting back to her parents; that on his return home he was to be married to the lady of his father's chooſing, and that he had authoriſed him to communicate the tidings to her, and aſſiſt her in returning to her friends. He gave ſuch an exact deſcription of his perſon, dreſs and appearance, that the young lady entertained not a doubt of his having ſeen him in Philadelphia, for ſhe knew he had not ſeen him elſewhere, and believing him to be her ſincere friend, and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting his veracity, gave full credence to all he ſaid. Her not having received a letter from her lover in a long time ſeemed alſo to confirm what he had told her. Being aſhamed to return, and not knowing what to do with herſelf, and the Frenchman being very rich, ſhe conſented to be married to him that very night that her legitimate lover was gone to New-Caſtle.

The very day that the preceding melancholy attempt happened, he had returned from New-Caſtle. He went to the houſe of his inſidious friend, to find out the retreat of his love, and to vent his indignation and revenge; when entering the houſe, the firſt that he ſaw, was his long ſought paramour, in the arms of the Frenchman. She fainted at the unexpected ſight of her late amoroſo, and he was madneſs and fury when he was informed of her marriage. They alternately recriminated, and charged each other with inconſtancy and deception; while the wonder-dumb Frenchman was motionleſs at what he ſaw and heard. At length he flew in a raving paſſion, ſwore he would ſhoot him if he offered any farther abuſe to his wife, and for what he had ſaid already, he would immediately proſecute him.

The falſe-hearted merchant now appeared, and told him that he had heard ſuch a character of him from his father, that he was no longer his friend, and ordered him to leave his houſe inſtantly; for he muſt not come there to inſult gentlemen of honour, and ladies of fortune; and that if he heard

or ſaw any more of his abuſe to the Frenchman or his wiſe, he would have him confined in priſon.

Exiled by his father; circumvented and betrayed by his friend; rivalled in his affections; torn by the warring paſſions of love, hatred, jealouſy and revenge; his money nearly exhauſted; at a diſtance from any friend or acquaintance—horror and deſpair ſeized upon his lymphated ſenſes: he ran from one public houſe to another, poured down the maddening cup of inebriation, and, in the paroxiſms of hopeleſs grief, and frantic rage, attempted to leap into the pit of deſtruction.

He was taken to the habitation of benevolence itſelf—a worthy Quaker. The balmy cordial of heavenly conſolation was poured into the deep wounds of his heart, by the lenient hand of divine humanity.

Since my return to America, I have ſeen the ſame perſon in New-York, and knew him by a certain ſcar in his face. He informed me that the humane Quaker above mentioned, and ſeveral other philanthropic gentlemen, wrote to his father, who immediately came to Philadelphia—informed him that the lady to whom he had wiſhed him married was wedded to another—begged his forgiveneſs, with tears of remorſe and renewed affection; and promiſed, if he would return home, never to thwart his inclinations again. That the lady, on being informed and convinced of his fidelity, and of the chicane and duplicity that had been the cauſe of her giving her hand to the Frenchman, wrote to him; and being aſſured of his undiminiſhed attachment, and of his willingneſs to receive her, ſhe had left her huſband, who conſented to relinquiſh her, when he found ſhe did not love him, and for ſome trifling conſideration gave her a divorce; and that they now lived and enjoyed uninterrupted felicity.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER V.

EMBARKATION—CELEBRATION OF INDEPENDENCE—EXEMPLARY PUNISHMENT, &c.

PATRIOTISM is ever united with humanity and compassion. This noble affection, which impels us to sacrifice every thing dear, even life itself, to our country, involves in it a common sympathy and tenderness for *every citizen*, and must ever have a *particular feeling* for one who suffers in a public cause. HANCOCK.

Now comes the time, and now the word,
For soldiers to repair on board;
And, sober as a gallows throng,
With knapsacks slung, we march along:
Enter the Trip'li destined frigate,
Turn sailors, and assist to rig it.

Next morn we *chanc'd to live* to see
Our annivers'ry jubilee!......
Some *slaves* might independence hail,
Or sing of *liberty* in *jail*,
With more propriety than we,
For all of *us* were *bound*—to sea.

Pray what's the end of punishment?
To make men better, and repent?
Or is it just for those who fun wish,
To shew they have the *pow'r* to punish?.....
How few there are, t' enslave, to kill,
Give them the *pow'r*, would lack the *will*.

IN the afternoon of the third of July, thofe of us who were deftined for the frigate, were ordered, at a moment's warning, to repair on board. All hands were employed in fhipping her top-mafts, taking in fpars, lumber, rigging, &c. The fhip was in the utmoft confufion—no water nor provifions for the men, and nothing to fleep on the following night, and for ma-

ny nights after, but the hard and pitchy deck. The next morning uſhered in the glorious anniverſary of American Independence; and ſuch an independence as I never ſaw before nor ſince, and never wiſh to ſee again. The one which I witneſſed in Tripoli, afterwards, was heaven itſelf, compared to this: for while the voluptuous ſons of idle diſſipation, throughout the union, were quaffing the delicious blood of the exotic vine, our induſtrious and patriotic ſeamen, who had juſt embarked to expoſe their lives in the defence of that commerce which procured them their luſcious and exhilerating libation, had not even a refreſhing draught of cooling water to ſate the feveriſh thirſt of intenſe labour; for nothing but the warm and ſickening river-water was to be obtained. While the high-fed, rich and ſlothful epicureans of our ſea-ports were gorging the dainty luxuries of various climes, and different oceans, our enterpriſing tars, on whoſe hazardous labours they had fattened and were feaſting, had not the ſtrengthening viands of an ordinary repaſt. While the enchanting ſound of the dulcet lute was made to raviſh the ears of our ſluggiſh, intoxicated cits on ſhore, the only inſtrumental muſic that we had on board, was the thrilling pipe of the arbitrary boatſwain, and his ruffian apiſh mates: and while the choral ſongs of heaven-born freedom were carolled from the halter-favoured throats of many an imported ariſtocrat, mingled with ſeditious toaſts and federal blaſphemy—"all hands ahoy!" vociferated from the ſonorous gullet of the triune boatſwains, and "ſpring, you damn'd raſcals!" ſqueaking from the faint lungs of the peurile midſhipman, were all our ſentiments and vocal muſic of the day. From the third until the eleventh of July, nothing but one inceſſant buſtle and cry of "come here," and "go there," was to be heard. One officer orders a man to do one thing; a ſecond immediately comes and orders him to do another thing: then he is flogged by the firſt for leaving his work, and ordered back to it: then ſerved in the ſame mannner by the ſecond. A third comes—"what are you about, you d—'d puppy," and orders him to

a new place;—"not a word!" if he attempts to parley—"a rope's-end!" if he refuſes to obey his officers *tacitly*—"no jaw, you d—'d ſcoundrel!" if he eſſays to reaſon, or complain of exorbitant commands—"ſtubborn villain!" if he looks ſerious—"impertinent one," if he ſmiles. Thus he is alternately verberated and harraſſed for not executing what, if he had the ſtrength of Hercules, and as many hands as Briareus, he could not poſſibly perform.

On the twelfth, we dropped down to Fort Penn, where we took in our guns, lay ſeveral days, and then fell down the river as far as Newcaſtle. Here we took in water, proviſions, &c. and prepared for ſea with all poſſible diſpatch. We had now received hammocks, and the difficulty of getting clews, nettings, and laſhings, and our ignorance and want of experience in the ſublime art of ſlinging and laſhing them up, was truly deplorable; for it was attended with ſerious and painful conſequences. And ſurely no ignorance is more to be lamented, than that which ſubjects a man to corporeal puniſhment; and no inexperience more to be regretted, than that which expoſes a man to cenſure, curſes, ſcoffs and ſtripes. Our hammocks muſt be neatly fitted for critical inſpection, at a ſhort and ſtated time; and no proviſion made for rope-yarn or cordage; none allowed from the boatſwain; no ſeaman permitted to take any, on pain of puniſhment, and yet every man that was found deſtitute was ſurely flogged. He *muſt not* leave his work to attend to his hammock; if he *did*, he was ſurely *flogged*. He *muſt* leave his work to attend to it; if he *did not*, he was ſurely flogged. In a word, a man muſt be omnicient, omnipotent, omnipreſent, and be able to create things out of nothing, at a moment's notice, on board of a man of war, or he will ſurely be flogged: and yet, by nothing ſhort of miracles, I always had the good fortune to eſcape.

As I loſt the minutes of a journal which I had kept on board, when we were taken in Tripoli, I will not pledge myſelf for correctneſs in naming the dates of events; but as to the veraci-

ty of them, no deviation ſhall be recorded. A miſtake in the time of an action, does not prove that the action never took place; but can only prove, that it did not take place at that time.

The firſt perſon, if I miſtake not, that was legally and publicly puniſhed, was one Thomas Higgins, an able and ſkilful ſeaman, who had deſerted from on board a Britiſh man of war, where he had been impreſſed and detained upwards of five years, and had now placed himſelf under the protecting wings of Columbia's genius. Fatigued with unremitting labours, in the dead of night, he ſunk into a momentary repoſe, on the forecaſtle of the ſhip, the place where he was ſtationed, but not then on duty. A midſhipman moping and blundering about in the dark, happened to detect him in the horrid act of *ſleeping!* He went to the head, got a bucket of water, and daſhed it into his face, and all over him. Starting from ſlumber, ſuppoſing it to be ſome one of his comrades, he began to "ſwear his prayers." But finding it to be a mighty midſhipman that had performed the prieſtly act of baptizing him, he made an apology, by ſaying, "I did not think it was one of the *gentlemen*, (as ſailors are taught to call theſe puny brats of deſpotiſm) or I ſhould not have ſworn as I did; for I did not think a gentleman would do ſuch an action."

It is very ſurpriſing that the *gentleman* had ſenſe enough to feel conviction; but it is not ſurpriſing at all, that he went to the officer of the deck, and entered a complaint that the "villain ſaid he was *no gentleman*; which, if he had poſſeſſed common ſenſe, he muſt have known was no more than the truth. The ſtrutting potentate of the quarter-deck, ordered a boatſwain's mate to call Higgins. He appeared—" What is this you have been ſaying to an officer, you damn'd raſcal?"—ſaid the dread umpire of the fate of tars. "I thought, Sir,"— "You thought, you damn'd raſcal, who gave you liberty to think? boatſwain's mate! call the maſter at arm's—here maſ-

ter at arms, put that ſon of a bitch in irons." His orders were inſtantly obeyed, and the man was manacled, both hands and feet. The next night following, Peter Whelan, a marine, was found nodding in the cockpit, while on ſentry, by a midſhipman; reported to the officer of the deck, and put in irons. He was an aged veteran—had ſerved in the army of the United States twenty-eight years—was covered with the ſcars of honour—had bled in the cauſe of freedom—was ſeven times wounded in the revolutionary war, and ſeveral times in St. Clair's defeat—had grown grey, and was nearly ſuperanuated, in the defence of our rights; and this was the firſt time, he poſitively affirmed, that he was ever put in irons. He had excellent recommendations from General Wilkinſon, and ſeveral other officers, under whom he had ſerved, of his valour, good conduct, and patriotiſm; and the ingratitude of his country now, drew tears from the old man's eyes. After having been confined ſeveral days—" all hands to puniſhment!"—was bellowed from the boatſwain, and his mimic mates. We aſſembled on the gun-deck, abreaſt of the main hatchway, to witneſs the exemplary operations of naval juſtice. The culprits were brought to the tragic ſtage, and ordered to ſtrip. Whelan plead his ſcars—acknowledged, that worn down with toils, he had treſpaſſed on the rigid rules of martial diſcipline, and implored mercy. Many could not refrain from tears—The ſcene was affecting—perhaps he had ſons—how ſhould I feel, if he were my father! He had contributed his blood to the purchaſe of our Independence—he was aged, poor, and friendleſs, and looked up to our government for ſuccour and ſupport. His fault, if a fault it could be called, was that of nature. How I then wiſhed that I poſſeſſed, not only the power of pardoning, but the means of maintaining him for life. At length, the angel of Pity, deſcending from the higheſt ſeat, ſave God's, in heaven, with a finger dipped in the fountain of mercy, touched the hard heart of war. The trembling, weeping, feeble, and grateful old man, was forgiven.

Higgins was then tied.—He attempted to exculpate himfelf, by faying—"I thought, Sir, it was one of my companions"—for it was evident that what he firft faid was the caufe of his being reported. "You thought! you have no right to think, damn your blood; you tell an officer he is no gentleman—I'll cut you in ounce pieces, you fcoundrel—boatfwain's mate! do your duty!"—He was then flogged without feeling or mercy. That a man had no right to *think*, was a theorem I had never heard of before, not even under the moft arbitrary governments, among the moft flaming zealots in polemical theology. It was worfe than the blue laws of my native ftate—worfe than the inquifition of Spain—worfe than the Baftile of France. Votaries of Juftice! What do you think of a fmockfaced, pickfhank, fopdoodle of an officer, fporting with the feelings, the liberty, and the very life and health of one of our gallant tars, and for a trifling miftake, or a juft retort, to have him chained, mutilated, and difgraced? Votaries of humanity! What do you think of an effeminate, pragmatical, fopling of an officer, who could have the turpitude, the effrontery, and the barbarity to report a worthy veteran, for fhutting his eyes a few moments, when he had nothing to place them on deferving his vigilance? The midfhipman who complained of Higgins, after having fhamefully abufed him, and trifled with his toils, was an imported Britifh gafconade, who had learned his firft leffons of nautical tyranny in the fchool of the Englifh navy. And I could not but remark, that every cruel officer that we had on board was a warm partifan for Britifh precedents, and of courfe a zealous federalift.

The next perfon that was put in irons, and punifhed at the gangway, was one Nugent, a marine. He was taken into the wardroom, to wait on the lieutenant of marines, and had the charge of a fixteen gallon keg of brandy. He was found drunk, lying in the furgeon's birth, and, on examination, it

was found that he had nearly emptied the brandy-keg, by giving bottles of brandy to a launch corporal, who had a doxy on board, and who was the firſt to bear witneſs againſt him, after having over perſuaded him to do it. It cannot be ſaid that he was unjuſtly or unlawfully puniſhed. A few days after, as he was exerciſing or drilling on the quarter-deck, abaft the mizen, not knowing his muſket was loaded, he ſnapped it, and a ball did but juſt eſcape the head of the officious corporal, and paſſing through the hammocks in the quarter nettings, communicated fire to the cloths. He was immediately reported by the corporal, and again put in irons; but having been ſo recently puniſhed, and this being conſidered as accidental, rather than premeditated, in the plenitude of rich clemency there was found forgivneſs.

The next, making allowance for anachroniſms, was John Tharpa, ſeaman, and cockſwain of the barge. He had been maſter's mate, on board of the frigate United States, and entered on board the Philadelphia, with flattering promiſes of ſpeedy preferment, and getting a little intoxicated on ſhore, was reported by a midſhipman, put in irons, and a good round dozen was the firſt ſtep towards his promotion.

About the ſame time, David Burling, a marine, was puniſhed for ſleeping on poſt. On being detected a ſecond time, in the act of dozing, he was put in irons, confined to the coal hold, and there kept until we ſtruck the ſhoals off Tripoli.—But this laſt did not happen until we had been out a conſiderable time. He was to have been tried by a court-martial; for Capt. B. emphatically declared that it would give him "infinite pleaſure to ſee him hanging at the yard-arm." It is known and acknowledged, that according to the articles of war, "any ſentinel ſleeping on his poſt, on being convicted thereof, ſhall ſuffer death or ſuch other puniſhment as a courtmartial ſhall adjudge." But whether this is meant to apply, except in actual ſervice, in times of imminent danger, is not for me to ſay. The marines had to take their tours of duty, keep them-

ſelves clean, and go to every call of all hands beſides; and therefore, great allowance ought to have been made for their being conſtantly driven and harraſſed night and day; and it is more than probable, that if they had been juſtly dealt by, and regularly relieved from ſentry in due time, very few would have merited ſtripes or chains.

While we were lying here, Capt. Wharton came on board, and paid us ſome money. We put into a common ſtock a few dollars each, to ſend on ſhore and purchaſe ſome ſea-ſtores. We gave the money to one Collins, a mizen-top boy, who belonged to the jolly-boat. He deſerted, and I have never ſeen nor heard of him ſince. Perhaps ſome prophetic ſpirit whiſpered in his ear that we were bound to a Turkiſh priſon. We had, as yet, no canns to draw our rum in, and tin pots and cups were very ſcarce amongſt us. The ſerjeant of marines drew our rations from the purſer's ſteward, and undertook to ſerve it out to us. We were claſſed in meſſes of eight men each. He would not give any part of the rum to any one of our meſs except we found a veſſel large enough to take the whole. We could not do it, and he kept the rum to himſelf. As the water was very bad, the men much fatigued, and the moſt of us not very averſe, at any time, to the cheering beverage of ſpirits, this flagrant outrage committed on our rights—this glaring embezzlement of our rations, was ſpurned by all with indignation, and threatened revenge. But the officer of marines being on ſhore, before a complaint could be made to him, and the very night following, our ſerjeant, having ſo much more than his ordinary meaſure of rum, got intoxicated, and making conſiderable tumult in his birth, was ordered, by a midſhipman in the ſteerage, who had heard him accuſed of purloining our rum, to "keep ſilence, and put out his light." Deeming himſelf an officer, co-ordinate with a midſhipman, he refuſed to obey. The midſhipman flew from the ſteerage, douſed the gleam, and dragged the ſerjeant from his hammock, into which he had ſprung, and gave him

a hearty and ſevere baſting. The general thirſt of revenge was now allayed, although the perſon who executed juſtice had no more right to ſtrike the ſerjeant than he had to drink our rum. The ſerjeant complained to the lieutenant of marines, but could get no ſatisfaction, and he afterwards went and remained on ſhore. Lieutenant Jones arrived from New-York with between thirty and forty men, which he had ſhipped there. Being now fully prepared, and our pilot on board, we deſcended the river, and time will never efface the impreſſions I then felt. The tranquility, order, and harmony of the delightful ſhores, contraſted with the tumult, confuſion and diſcord of the hateful ſhip, appeared now to have charms never before contemplated. *There*, liberty, equality, peace, plenty, and all the rural beauties of nature, held a halcyon reign. *Here*, oppreſſion, arrogance, clamour, indigence, and all the hideous deformities of art, and implements of bloodſhed, ſtruck the mind with horror and diſmay. It is a trite but true ſaying, that the bleſſings of life—the pleaſures of ſenſe, never appear ſo valuable, ſo lovely and ſo enchanting, as when they are about to depart from us; and a friend never appears ſo amiable, ſo engaging, and of ſuch ineſtimable worth, as when we are bidding him a final adieu. Heaven-favoured farmers! how ineffably happy, how ſupremely bleſt would you be, did you but know how to appreciate the privileges you enjoy, and feel the ſame reliſh for the ſweets of your fields, as one who is bound to meet the terrors of the god of war, and reap the horrors of the midnight ſtorm. On the twenty-ſeventh day of July, we diſmiſſed the pilot, and in a ſhort time loſt ſight of the happieſt ſhores on earth.

CHAPTER VI.

A VOYAGE.

INVOCATION TO NEPTUNE.

Neptune, attend, god of the vast profound!
Whose will controuls it, and whose pow'rs surround!
When lightnings flash, tremend'ous thunders roar,
And liquid mountains tumble to the shore,
Thy awful mandate, sounding from afar,
Can hush the din of elemental war;
The restless billows lull to slumb'ring peace,
And bid the whirlwind and the tempest cease!
O make, in answer to our fervent pray'r,
The Philadelphia thy peculiar care.
To winds propitious all our sails unfurl'd,
Bearing the ensign of a glorious world;
Should in our cruise some hostile flag be seen,
The Moor, Tripolitan, or Algerine—
Should blood-stain'd Mars his hideous front display,
And menace carnage to obstruct our way—
As stern Ulysses, as Achilles bold,
Or warlike Hector, in the days of old,
The martial look of Bainbridge shall inspire
The dauntless ardour of heroic fire;
His sword shall triumph in the vengeful blow,
And deal destruction to the recreant foe.
So taught the muse prophetic—but the song
Prov'd, in the sequel, the prediction wrong.

We were divided into two watches; but all hands being kept constantly on deck in the day time, we had not more than four hours, out of twenty-four, for relaxation and repose; and, consequently, at every muster of the watch, during the night, stupified with lassitude, more or less would be

found aſleep below. Sometimes fifteen or twenty at a muſter would be ranged along the gangways, to receive the reward of their atrocious actions—the puniſhment due to the inceſtuous crime of yielding to the embraces of mother nature, by reſting their heads a few moments in her lap; not on a downy pillow of ſomniferous poppies, but more frequently on the ſoft ſide of a plank; and an almoſt unceaſing cry of men excrutiating under the torturing operations of a rope's end, was to be heard through the dreary night. The ſhip was yet a chaos of diſorder, and a frequent call to quarters in the dead of night, was attended with broken ſhins, bruiſed backs and battered noſes. A midſhipman had to muſter the marines' hammocks, which were ſtowed in the quarter nettings. Mr. B. from Philadelphia, was commiſſioned, one morning, with this important charge. It muſt be previouſly underſtood, that when a marine officer muſters his men, by calling them by name, they are not allowed to anſwer "here, ſir," as the ſailors are taught to reply to their officers, but "here," only. The moſt of us had the preſence of mind, and fortunate precaution to conſider, that, as Mr. B. was not a marine officer, perhaps we ought not to take hold of a name ſo brightly poliſhed, without putting a handle to it; and we luckily added "ſir" to the "here." But two of our marines, who very likely had been flogged by ſome marine officer for anſwering "here, ſir;" O, fatal hallucination! O, impudent fellows! replied as they had been taught, with a bare "here." The little captious, amphibious animal flew into the moſt outrageous paſſion, and ſeizing an end of the mizen hallyards, gave each of thoſe audacious wights twenty or thirty blows with all the ſtrength of his little arms; while ſo remote were they from meaning any inſult or diſreſpect, that when he had exhauſted all his might and fury, they did not know what treſpaſs they had committed—for what they had been beaten.—Luckily for them, he was no Mendoza, or he might have pounded them to jelly. They entered a complaint to their

marine officers, but got no redrefs!!!—They were marines, and that alone was enough to damn them. Lovers of equality! Cultivators of your independent foil!—The only lords of America! what do you think of thefe things?—Are fuch cruelties authorized by the conftitution of our country?—Or, is the conftitution violated by thofe paltry imps of defpotifm?—Are the officers of our navy legally invefted with fuch abfolute power?—or, is fuch power as unlawfully affumed as it is arbitrarily exercifed?—Are we in want of feamen and foldiers, or are we not?—Is it a crime fo atrocious—a thing fo degrading, to enter voluntarily into the fervice of the United States, that a man muft be no longer confidered as a citizen of America?—And are citizens of this free country to be treated with as much contempt, as great barbarity, and as villainous injuftice as the fable vaffals of the Weft-Indies?—Does it not reflect difgrace upon human nature, to fuppofe that mankind are incapable of being governed, even in a man of war, but by the iron rod of tyrannical power?—Has a man, becaufe he is no officer, no right to fpeak in his own juftification?—no right to complain?—no right to feek redrefs if he is injured?—Or is he fo vile, fo contemptible, fo abandoned by God and man, that he cannot be injured?—Has a failor no emulation?—no feeling?—no refentment?—And muft a brat of an officer, a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, be permitted to ftrike, to infult, to trample on, to fwagger over men grown venerable by age, and honourable by wounds in the fervice of their country?—And, above all, does a man's being a marine fink him to the very depths of debafement and infamy? Ye honeft tillers of the ground! You, from whom all legitimate political power and authority originate; why do you fuffer your hirelings to abufe the power you commit to them? Why do you not wreft the rod from their hands? How would you like to fee a fon of yours bleeding beneath the hands of your fervant? You who were the purchafers of Independence, and

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next to God himfelf, the fathers of plenty, and of all the bleffings and privileges we enjoy—you, who are the very life and foul of liberty, why do you permit your fervants to treat your fons like flaves? Or, are you ignorant of their perverfion of your authority? Or, is a man, when he is once on board a man of war, dead to all juftice, to all humanity, to all fenfe of feeling? and muft he be treated like a flave—an out-caft of fociety—a villain—a beaft?

I cannot difmifs this fubject without mentioning a circumftance which took place a few days after we were liberated from Tripoli; on board of the United States frigate Effex, while we were lying at Syracufe. Amongft a number of men that were fent in a boat to paint the fhip's fides, was James Gallagher; who was one of the Philadelphia's crew, juft emancipated from a Turkifh prifon—fickly, and emaciated. He had been deftitute of fhoes for a long time before he came on board, and there were none in the fhip. In working amongft fo much black paint, fome of it unavoidably adhered to his feet. It was impoffible to wafh it off, with falt water. The men were called out of the boat, up the gangway; and fuch of them as had dirty fhoes, left them in the boat, and came on deck with clean feet. Gallagher tried to wafh his feet before he ftepped on deck, but it only made them worfe; and when he walked along the gangway, he left the veftiges of his feet. The officer of the deck called him and afked him where were his fhoes? He anfwered he had none, and could not poffibly get any. He was fnarled at, and afked, why he did not wafh his feet then? He anfwered, that he had tried; but could not wafh off the paint, unlefs he had foap and frefh water. He was then damned for a dirty rafcal, ordered to take off his jacket, a boatfwain's mate called, and told to give him about two dozen, with a large rope's end. He was a good feaman, had been feveral years in our fervice—a perfon of a peaceable and excellent difpofition, and was beloved by all the prifoners in Tripoli. What bofom is there that would

not burn with a ſympathetic indignation and reſentment at ſuch a ſcene as this?—That a man, but juſt eſcaped from the ſanguinary clutches of Tripolitan barbarians, weak, palid, and broken with toils, chains, and hunger, ſhould ſo ſoon be treated worſe than by thoſe ſavages—beaten, among his own countrymen, for not performing impoſſibilities, was enough to awaken the ſpirit of indignation in the boſom of a ſainted anchorite.

Shades of departed heroes! who fought, bled and died in the ſacred cauſe of liberty, how are your bleſſed manes inſulted; how is your blood contemned; how are your aſhes profaned; how are your names reproached; how are thoſe hallowed rights, tranſmitted to your ſons, trampled upon, violated, and deſtroyed, if ſuch things are winked at by our government. It will be anſwered that ſevere diſcipline is indiſpenſably neceſſary on board a man of war. It is granted. But is there not ſome difference between diſciplining men, and murdering them?—How is it that men are made to perform duty on board of a merchantman without flogging? Perhaps it may be ſaid that theſe ſtatements are not true, or that they are exaggerated. So far from being falſehoods, that they are truths excuſed—truths that can be proved by every ſeaman that ever ſailed in our ſervice. So far from being exaggerated, that the worſt I have yet ſaid, is but a paliation of enormities.

Have you not heard of the man who was ſtabbed by an officer on board of the Conſtitution, while in action with a French frigate, merely for looking pale, and making a falſe ſtep?—Have you not heard of a man who was ſtruck by an officer, on board the Eſſex, a few years ſince; and who, in conſequence, died?—Have you not heard of a man being kicked in the ſtomach or bowels, by an officer of the Conſtitution; and who, in conſequence, died?—Who has not heard of the man who was ſtabbed in his own houſe, in Baltimore,

x Stewart } x Constellation.

by Lieut. P.——, and who, in consequence, died inftantly? But, thefe are Britifh precedents—imitations of Britifh examples.

The Britifh have the moft powerful navy on the ocean, and the beft feamen in the world; and if they treat their tars with cruelties, fo muft Americans. If they murder their failors and foldiers, fo muft Americans. With fhame to our navy be it faid, that I have feen Americans who had been impreffed, and had remained, for years, in the Britifh navy, who have faid, and will fay, that they found better treatment in that execrable fervice—under that deteftable government, which tears from the bofoms of their families and friends, their feamen, by infernal prefs-gangs, than in their own fervice, and under their own government. And it is a well known fact, that while part of our fquadron was lying at Gibraltar, feveral of our feamen deferted to the Britifh fleet. Amongft our crew, in the Philadelphia, I may fafely fay there were one hundred who had failed in that navy, and not one of them all but would fay, he fared better than in our own.

But, as I have before obferved, we muft not include the whole of our navy officers in this charge. The brave man is never a cruel one. The dauntlefs Preble is faid to be as humane as he is brave; as juft as he is humane; and as merciful as he is juft. The intriped Decatur is as proverbial, among failors, for the good treatment of his men, as he is for his valour. Not a tar, who ever failed with Decatur, but would almoft facrifice his life for him. Capt. Bainbridge was thought, by many of our failors, to be a good officer; but he trufted too implicitly to his fubordinate myrmidons. His fecond lieutenant, Mr. Jones, was a calm, mild, and judicious officer, beloved by all the feamen. Mr. Hunt, his third lieutenant, treated me with diftinguifhed kindnefs. Mr. Cutburt, a midfhipman, was an amiable young gentleman. Midfhipmen Gamble and Gibbons, were young gentlemen of merit. Mr. Ofborn, lieut. of Marines, could not be called a tyranni.

cal officer. But all this does not prove that the general complaint of ill ufage in our fervice is unfounded. The commander of a fhip may be a good man, and yet, confiding too much in his officers, or being abfent, his men may be fhamefully treated, without his knowledge; and cuftom, by imitating the Britifh navy, having impofed fuch arbitrary rules, that a feaman dare not complain of an officer, they often fuffer under a worthy commander. How is the captain of a fhip to know that his men are mal-treated? He is not much on deck; the men do not complain to him; and for this reafon he does not fuppofe they are wronged. If one of his officers punifhes a man, he is made to believe by that officer, that the man deferved it. If a man is reported by an officer, it is the duty of the captain to punifh him, at the officer's inftance. The great fault; the chief caufe of fo much tyranny, of fo many juft complaints of cruel officers, is the practice of giving warrants to boys—to the upftarts, the fops, the bafe, unprincipled, inexperienced mammets of licentioufnefs; who are trained up to exercife undue authority over men, "the latchet of whofe fhoes they are not worthy to unloofe." What neceffity, what propriety, what juftice is there in giving a boy of eleven or twelve years of age a warrant, with liberty to command, to infult; to ftrike in the face, men old enough to be their great grand-fathers? How can human nature brook fuch abufe? Does not the very eftablifhment, then, give licence to the fchool of tyranny, and plant the nurfery of defpotifm? Such things might plead excufe in any other country, under any other government but ours; but how does it comport with our boafted freedom? But the Britifh do the like; and we, who pretend to difcard Britifh precedents, in almoft every thing elfe, ftill retain them in this. This boy of an officer, draws nineteen dollars a month, when an able, and fkilful feaman has but twelve. Is there any equity in this? It is true, we muft have officers; but why are they not made officers by

merit? Why are they not taken from among the ſeamen—men of experience? Or, is there no men of merit amongſt them? Another thing to be noticed, is the proviſion made for the vultures of the navy, by ſinecure offices. What is the advantage of a purſer, on board of a man of war? Or, if there is a real neceſſity for one, where is the juſtice in his charging ſeamen fifty cents a pound for tobacco—fifty cents for a jack-knife, and more than one hundred per cent. on all his ſlops;—when, by law, he is allowed to charge no more than ten per cent? Where does the amount of this enormous profit go to? The purſer has his wages beſides the profits of his ſlops. How is this? Is he allowed to rifle from the ſailors their hard earned wages to his own private benefit alone; or does he go ſnacks with other officers, who defend him in his peculations? Where is the juſtice in giving a chaplain forty dollars a month, and two rations, for doing nothing at all—not even ſo much as reading prayers? Or do they think the prayers of the wicked avail nothing? What juſtice is there in giving two idle ſurgeon's mates, each thirty dollars per month, for doing worſe than nothing—for embezzling and devouring the rations allowed to the ſick?—for drinking their wine, and giving them cold water in the place of it?

Farmers! this is the way your money goes! To ſuch purpoſes are your taxes appropriated! If a neighbour of yours, in the common tranſactions of buſineſs, defrauds you of a few pence, how ready are you to reſent it; and will you ſuffer your ſervants, to whom you delegate your power, to pick your pockets before your face? The contributing of your taxes, to the ſupport of ſuch a naval eſtabliſhment as may be deemed neceſſary, for the protection of our commerce, is no evil to you; becauſe, commerce increaſes the demand for, and raiſes the price of your produce; ſo that, on the whole, it may probably put more money into your pockets than it takes out of them. But this is no reaſon that a man, whom you

may hire to labour for you, becauſe the profit of his labour is great, to ſeize on it as his own, or ſquander it away. Will any one pretend to ſay, that the foregoing predications, and remarks, are too circumſcribed, too light, or unimportant, to be the ſubject of reaſonable declamation, or ſerious reflection? That, for the general good, individual evils muſt be diſpenſed with—that, to ſecure liberty to all, a few muſt ſuffer ſlavery; and, that a handful of ſailors and ſoldiers, being treated with every ſeverity of injuſtice and oppreſſion, ought not to be expoſed to public inveſtigation, as a matter of momentous concern? If our commerce cannot be protected—if our navy cannot be ſupported—if the ground of national honor and national defence cannot be maintained but by ſuch flagrant violations of juſtice, of liberty, of humanity, and of the rights of man, freedom is a jeſt, and our conſtitution a mere burleſque on her name. And now, with all the logic of ſpeculative politicians—all the criminations of public functionaries—all the noiſe of congreſſional debates—all the buzz and buſtle of the alien and ſedition laws—the ſtamp-act—the whiſky inſurrection—all the whoops of political office-hunters—all the warfare of editorial partiſans—all the prating of federal-republican, quid, &c. Is it not of greater importance that one citizen of the United States ſhould be chained, ſtripped, tied, and whipped like a dog, by an officer commiſſioned by our Executive, for not the leaſt ſhadow of a crime? Yet this has been done, not to one man only, but to hundreds. Not only whipped like dogs, but immolated like bullocks.—And who could witneſs ſuch ſcenes with indifference? who could refrain from exclaiming with Cicero againſt Verres——"O liberty! O ſound, once delightful to every American ear! O ſacred privilege of American citizenſhip! once ſacred, but now trampled upon." That the preceding reflections may not be conſidered as the overflowing ebullitions of outrageous revenge for perſonal abuſes, I would mention, as before obſerved, that I was never chaſtiſed while I was in the ſervice;

and as a proof that I was not conſidered as one of the moſt incorrigible men on board of the Philadelphia, I ſhall cite the following extract of a letter, written by one of our officers in Tripoli, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, which was publiſhed in the Port Folio, as an introduction to ſome pieces of poetry. He ſays—"I cannot omit mentioning a marine, whoſe extraordinary merit has attracted the attention and notice of all the officers; his name is Ray," &c. And Capt. Bainbridge, after he had returned to America, in a letter to a friend of mine, ſays—"Ray has conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as not only to gain my good opinion, but alſo, the reſpect and good will of all the other officers." By which it will appear, that, as I had the good opinion of the officers, it is not probable I was much puniſhed by them; and if I was not much puniſhed by them, it is not very probable that in making theſe remarks I have been actuated by ſelfiſh revenge.

During Mr. Rays Captivity I had written him several letters to the Care of Capt Bainbridge and on his return he wrote to me from which letter the above passage is quoted—

Bela Fosgate

During Mr Ray

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER VII.

EXERCISING SHIP.

Now for the rock our warlike frigate bore,
Nor storms were felt to beat, nor heard to roar—
"Clear ship for action!" sounds the boatswain's call—
"Clear ship for action!" his three mimicks bawl;
Swift round the decks, see war's dread weapons hurl'd,
And floating ruins strew the watry world!
"All hands to quarters!" fore and aft resounds,
Thrills from the fife, and from the drum-head bounds;
From crouded hatchways scores on scores arise,
Spring up the shrouds and vault into the skies!
Firm at his quarters each bold gunner stands,
The death-fraught lightning flashing from his hands!
Touch'd at the word, tremendous cannons roar,
The waves rush, trembling, to the viewless shore!
From crackling muskets whizzing balls are sent,
And, darting, pierce the liquid element!
The fearful nations of the deep below,
Fly the dire signals of impending woe;
Air's wild inhabitants in clouds convene,
And wing impetuous from the frightful scene;
Men seek the spoils of the eventful fight,
Lo! not an enemy nor a sail in sight!
What then? must poets ne'er record a deed,
Nor sing of battles, but when thousands bleed?
Can naught but blood and carnage yield delight?
Or mangled carcases regale the sight?
Which shews more God-like, men to save—or kill?
Their *sweat*, by exercise, or *blood* to spill?
Which sounds more grateful to the man humane,
To hear of hundreds' health, or hundreds slain?
No blood here flows, no hero's dying groans,
No squadrons vanquish'd, and no broken bones;
But each more eager to the grog-tub ran,
Than when the foeless contest first began.

Having now been at ſea for ſeveral days, it became expedient for us to practiſe in the art and diſcipline of war; and accordingly a time was appointed to exerciſe ſhip. The day was remarkably fine. We were prepared, by previous notice, and furniſhed with eight rounds of cartridges for ſmall arms. The cannon were alſo made ready for the occaſion.—At ten o'clock in the morning, the boatſwain piped, and the drum beat to quarters! We ſoon opened a tremendous fire upon our *imaginary* foes, and went through all the manœuvres of a naval engagement. It was truly ludicrous to ſee three hundred men earneſtly engaged in combatting the viſions of fancy—running fore and aft the ſhip with naked, glittering cutlaſſes, and other weapons of bloodſhed—flouriſhing their ſwords, hurling their battle-axes, and brandiſhing their pikes to prevent the enemy from boarding.

Perhaps if we had fought the Tripolitans with as much courage and pertinacity, as we did the fierce chimeras of our prolific brains, and oppoſed the great Baſhaw with as much fortitude and as little trepidation as we did old Neptune, we might not have been captured without bloodſhed; fortunately none were wounded—no lives were loſt in either action; but the weather being very ſultry, this might, with great propriety, be called a *warm* engagement. From the time we left the Capes, we were on an allowance of half a gallon of water, for each man, per day. The neceſſity of putting men on ſo ſhort an allowance of water, while the weather was good and the wind fair, and while we had a plenty of it on board, could not have been very urgent; and certainly while we were lying in harbour, as afterwards, it was very arbitrary and unjuſt. This, notwithſtanding, is practiſed by moſt of our ſhips of war.

On our paſſage, about this time, John Houſe, a marine, died. When he firſt came on board he appeared to be very healthy, was florid and vivacious. I do not know what diſeaſe was the cauſe of his death; but I very well know that he

was treated with leſs attention and more contemptuous neglect than if he had been an officer's dog. Our ſurgeon's mates could not poſſibly ſtoop tc the low employment of attending a ſick marine. He died inſane, and in the greateſt extremity of anguiſh, mental and corporeal.

Still on our course, the Western-Isles we past,
And fam'd Gibraltar heaves in sight, at last;
Close in we stood, at our commander's word,
The harbour enter'd, and the frigate moor'd.
View'd, from the ship, what prospects here arise!
The rock's bold summit tow'ring to the skies,
Roll'd in eternal clouds, through time has stood,
Nods, threats and frowns terrific on the flood!
To guard the fortress, and the port command,
Round its wall'd base repulsive batt'ries stand,
Rows above rows, huge cannon wide extend,
And groves of muskets glitt'ring terrors blend!
But flow'ry gardens soon relieve the sight,
And, side by side, lie horror and delight.

We had, for the moſt part of the way, a very fine breeze and pleaſant weather. It was about the 26th of Auguſt, if I miſtake not, when we arrived at Gibraltar. We lay here a few days when the frigate New-York, Commodore Morris, the Conſtitution, Capt. Preble, and the John Adams, Capt. Campbell, arrived from the Mediterranean. The brig Vixen, Lieutenant Smith, alſo arrived from Baltimore. Information was received that a veſſel, with Barbary colours, was cruiſing off the Rock, and we went in purſuit of her. It was in the afternoon when we came in ſight of her; ſhe bore away, and we gave chaſe. Our ſhip was under Engliſh colours. We fired a number of guns before ſhe would come to. About ſun-ſet we came within hailing, and our captain ordered one of our ſeamen, who could ſpeak Spaniſh and the Lingua-franca, to ſpeak her; which he accordingly did, and aſked where ſhe was from? They anſwered—"Morocco." Where are you bound?—"Morocco." What news?—"The Emperor

of Morocco has given us orders to capture all American veſſels." Have you taken any?—"Yes, we have captured a brig." Where is ſhe?—"Ahead." Are any of her men on board?—"Yes, the captain and four men." You may judge ſomething of their conſternation and confuſion when we let fall our Engliſh enſign, hoiſted the American, and ordered them to ſtrike. They inſtantly douſed their colours and humbly deprecated our vengeance. Being ordered, they ſent their boat on board of us, with their officers and captain of the American brig. Mr. Cox, our firſt lieutenant, with ſeveral midſhipmen, about forty ſailors, and a ſerjeant, corporal and eight marines, was ſent on board to take command of the prize.—The priſoners were diſarmed and put under hatches, with ſentinels over them. The ſhip carried twenty-two ſix pounders, and about one hundred men. Their guns were badly mounted, the ſhip filthy, and the men meagre, griſly and ſhabby. They had onions of the mildeſt flavour and largeſt ſize I ever beheld; I believe they were nearly ſix inches in diameter.—Their ſea-bread was from barley-meal, baked in large loaves, cut into ſlices and dried in an oven like what we call ruſk.—Their beef, or mutton, was boiled, cut into ſmall pieces, mingled with flour, fat and oil, and packed into kegs. Rice, oil, olives, and dried fiſh compoſed the remainder of their eſculent ſtores. Our frigate, now in company with the prize, ſteered for the brig, and came in ſight of her the following day in the afternoon. She led us a chaſe, and was very unwilling to come to; but when we came within hail, the affrighted maſter of her cried out—"Morocco! Morocco!" and ſtruck his colours. It was pleaſing to witneſs the ecſtacies of our countrymen on being thus unexpectedly and happily reſcued from the power of their fierce predaceous captors. They had been ſtripped of their clothing, robbed of their cheſts and caſh, plundered of every thing valuable in their cargo, and confined below in irons. We took the brig in tow, the prize in company, and ſailed for the Rock. Knowing themſelves to be pi-

rates, and confcious of their crimes, the Moorifh captives manifefted great concern for their lives, by frequently putting their fingers acrofs their throats, and afking us, by interpreters, if we did not think they would all lofe their heads. At the Rock of Gibraltar the prifoners were all fent on board of the Philadelphia. Lieutenant Cox remained on board of the Moorifh fhip, as prize-mafter. The prifoners were kept on board of the frigate for a confiderable time, and then fent to their own fhip again. While they were with us, they were treated as prifoners of war—not infulted or abufed—not put in irons, and had as much provifions allowed them as they could devour. Notwithftanding they were Mahometans, and, by their religion, interdicted the drinking of fpirituous liquors, and the eating of pork, many of them would indulge to excefs in the former, and fwallow, with voracity, the latter, in preference to any other meat. To fupply the place of Mr. Cox, as firft lieutenant of the Philadelphia, Mr. Porter came on board; and Mr. Renfhaw, to fill the vacancy of Mr. M'Donough, who remained with Mr. Cox. James Ingerfon, Daniel Shays, Nathaniel Brooks, and Charles Rhilander, having been fhipwrecked on the coaft of Portugal, were fent by an American Conful, in a Portuguefe fhip, to the American Conful at Gibraltar. They were Americans, from Bofton; had fuffered much, and earneftly folicited him to provide them a paffage to America, which he promifed, and which was no more than his official duty to fulfil; but the perfidious mifanthropes, inftead of fending them on board of fome of our fhipping then lying in harbour and bound to America, fent them to our frigate, then bound up the Mediterranean, on a two year's cruife. The treacherous Conful told them that the fhip to which he would fend them was bound to America, and they were unfufpicious of any device, until they were fafely on board of us, and informed to the contrary by our crew. Was this any better than impreffing? The Conful's name is

Gavino, and his conduct ought to be executed by every American feaman. Him thefe four unfortunate Americans might thank for their chains in Tripoli. They applied to Captain Bainbridge, informed him of the Conful's fineffe, and fued for permiffion to leave the fhip and feek one bound to their native fhores; but he told them, that as they had been fent by order of the American Conful, he could not poffibly difcharge them—encouraged them with the hope of our not being long out, and endeavoured to purfuade them to enter on the fhip's books; but they were chagrined and contumacious, and pofitively refufed, either to enter, or do duty. Some time in October we failed for Malta, in company with the Vixen, and arrived there towards the latter part of the fame month. Here we landed feveral boxes of dollars which we took in at Gibraltar. I need not inform the intelligent reader that this is the Ifland which in St. Paul's day was called Melita, the place where he was fhipwrecked, when the viper faftened on his hand, and where "the barbarous people fhewed him no little kindnefs." The town is large and populous. The harbour is fpacious, fafe and commodious, and nearly environed by the town. The houfes are built of a cream-coloured ftone, eafily hewn into any fhape, though not too friable, and are handfome and durable. The numerous churches, priefts and friars—the almoft inceffant ringing of bells, in every part of the town, as fignals for prayers, loudly proclaim the reign of fuperftition and fanaticifm over genuine morality and rational devotion. While we lay here, two of our men, Walker and Kelly, deferted from a boat that was fent afhore for water. Walker had been cruelly flogged a few days before, for no crime or fault at all, by order of Lt. P. and he was heard to fwear that if he found no opportunity to defert, he would jump overboard and drown himfelf fooner than ftay in the fhip during the cruife. There was a general murmuring among the men of infufferably bad ufage, and it is my real opinion, that had we not been ftranded, a mutiny would

have enfued. Lt. P. when he firft came on board, and before they knew his voice, ordered fome men who were in a boat to come on deck, in order to do fomething to the rigging.—It was very dark, and they, not judging it to have been the firft lieutenant of the fhip, made a reply, neither indecorous nor infolent, but not quite fo obfequious and parafitical as to pleafe the ear of confummate arrogance. He, therefore, called them up, and ordered a boatfwain's mate to give them a fevere flogging, before they knew, or he told them what it was for. And becaufe they did not pull their hats off, while under the operation, in token of begging his mercy, he ordered a fecond flogging. Suppofe an officer had coolly and deliberately ftabbed a man in Baltimore, and had to fly from the purfuit of juftice, and dare not return to America for fear of the halter, could any thing better be expected from fuch an officer, than that he would treat his men with the cup of torture? We now failed for Tripoli, and, for what reafon I know not, parted with the brig.

On the 31ft day of October, early on Monday morning, a fail was difcovered on our larboard bow, and orders were immediately iffued to give her chafe. She made towards the fhores of Tripoli, and we foon diftinguifhed that fhe carried Barbary colours. The white walls of our deftined refidence in captivity, foon hove in fight. Every fail was fet, and every exertion made to overhaul the fhip, and cut her off from the town. The wind was not very favourable to our purpofe, and we had frequently to wear fhip. A conftant fire was kept up from our fhip, but to no effect. We were now within about three miles of the town, and Captain Bainbridge not being acquainted with the harbour, having no pilot, nor any correct chart, trufted implicitly to the directions of Lieutenant Porter, who had been here feveral times, and who profeffed himfelf well acquainted with the fituation of the harbour. We, however, went fo clofe in that the captain began to be fearful of venturing any farther, and was heard, by a

number of our men, to exprefs to Lt. P. the danger he apprehended in purfuing any farther in that direction, and advifing him to put about fhip. Lieut. P. anfwered that there was no danger yet, and that we would give them a few fhots more. A moment or two afterwards, and juft as we were preparing to come about, fhe ftruck upon the fhoals and remained faft! The impudent pirate now, for the firft time, hove to, and returned fire. Lt. P. looked much like the paper on which I am now blackening his name. Difmay was confpicuous in every countenance. The fails were put aback, anchors caft ahead, and other means exerted to throw her off, but without effect. Three gun-boats were immediately under weigh from the wharves, and one of them, coming within reach, began to fpit her fiery vengeance. I could not but notice the ftriking alteration in the tone of our officers. Burling was taken from our baftile, the coal-hold. It was no time now to act the haughty tyrant—no time to punifh men for fnoring—no time to tell men they had "*no right to think*," but every man could now fnoaze and cogitate as much as he pleafed. It was not "go you damn'd rafcal"—but "come, my good fellow, my brave lads." The forecaftle guns were run abaft on the quarter deck—the guns on the main deck hauled aft, but to no effect. The gun-boats kept throwing their balls; but they all went too high, none of them touched our hull, and but very few went through the rigging. It was thought if our guns were thrown overboard, it might caufe her to fwing clear; it was accordingly done, excepting thofe on the quarter-deck, and in the cabin; but no hopes were vifible. Her foremaft was cut away—all would not do—fhe feemed immoveable. Her ftern was partly demolifhed, to make way for our guns to bear upon the enemy the better, but our fhot had little or no effect. Mr. Hodge, the boatfwain, fuggefted the experiment of cafting a ftern anchor, but this attempt was rejected by the officers, and he afterwards

perſiſted in his opinion, that if this method had been adopted, ſhe might have been thrown off with facility. Now was the juncture, at which we required the aid of the brig we had left.

It was a little paſt twelve oclock when we ſtruck the ſhoals, and we continued firing at the boats, and uſing every means in our power, to get the ſhip afloat, and annoy the enemy; when, about four o'clock, the Eagle of America, fell a prey to the vultures of Barbary—the flag was ſtruck!!

Many of our ſeamen were much ſurpriſed at ſeeing the colours down, before we had received any injury from the fire of our enemy, and begged of the captain and officers to raiſe it again, preferring even death to ſlavery. The man who was at the enſign halyards, poſitively refuſed to obey the captain's orders, when he was ordered to lower the flag. He was threatened to be run through, and a midſhipman ſeized the halyards, and executed the command, amidſt the general murmuring of the crew.

There was only one gun-boat that could bear upon us, although there were two more lying to leeward, between us and the ſhore, afraid to come nigher. It is true there were two or three more making ready and getting under way, but it was afterwards thought they would not have attempted to board us for that night; and by the next morning ſhe was afloat!!

In fact, the Turks were ſo puſillanimous, that after our colours were ſtruck, they dare not, for they did not attempt to come any nearer, until we ſent a boat, and perſuaded them that it was no farce, no illuſion, aſſuring them that our frigate had in reality ſtruck to one gun-boat, and entreated them to come and take poſſeſſion of their lawful booty!!

While the boat was gone, the clothes, cheſts, and proviſion barrels were brought on the gun-deck, and every man was allowed free acceſs. The ſhip was ſcuttled, and water let into the magazine—the cabin furniture deſtroyed—battle-axes,

pikes, cutlaſſes, piſtols, muſkets, and all implements of war, thrown over-board. All hands were then called, to muſter on the quarter-deck. Captain Bainbridge read a clauſe in the articles of war, ſtating, that our wages would continue, while we were priſoners of war; encouraged us to hope for ranſom, by our country, and adviſed us to behave with circumſpection and propriety, among our barbarous captors.

To witneſs the odd appearance of our provident tars, at this ſolemn hour, would have excited riſibility in the muſcles of an expiring ſaint. Some of them with three or four pair of trowſers, and as many ſhirts on, with handkerchiefs ſtuffed with handkerchiefs round their necks, and their boſoms crammed with clothes and proviſions, bore the reſemblance of Blunt, in puppet-ſhow, or Falſtaff, in comedy.

CHAPTER VIII.

REMARKS ON DR. COWDERY'S JOURNAL.

I SHALL now take ſome notice of extracts from Doctor Cowdery's journal, as publiſhed in the Balance, of Hudſon, and republiſhed in the Albany Regiſter. As far as he adheres to ſtrict veracity, I ſhall coincide with his obſervations; but when he deviates from correctneſs, or exaggerates on facts, take the liberty of differing with the learned Doctor's diary. He ſays—" After the ſignal of the Philadelphia was ſtruck, and the officers and crew waiting the pleaſure of their new maſters, the Tripolitan chiefs collected their favourites, and, with drawn ſabres, fell to cutting and ſlaſhing their own men who were ſtripping the Americans and plundering the ſhip.—They cut off the hands of ſome, and it is believed, ſeveral were killed." It is true there was a ſort of mutiny and claſhing of arms amongſt them; but for my part I never ſaw any hands amputated, nor do I believe there were any lives loſt; for myſelf and a hundred others were in the ſhip much longer than the Doctor, and none of us ever ſaw or heard of this carnage amongſt themſelves. After they had borrowed about ten dollars of the Doctor, and wreſted his ſurtout from under his arm, he ſays—" Whilſt they were picking its pockets, and quarrelling with each other for the booty, I ſprung for the next boat which was waiting for me. In my way I met a little fellow who ſeized me and attempted to get off my coat, but I hurled him to the bottom of the boat," &c. This was certainly the moſt heroic action that has ever been read of any of the Philadelphia's officers. Surrounded by thoſe horrific brigands, with "drawn ſabres" and "cocked piſtols," for a man, at ſuch a critical and fearful criſis, to have the courage

to collar an enemy, on his own ground, muſt be conſidered as a ſpecimen of heroiſm not very common to be found among empirics of our navy. And when the Doctor mentions "hurling the *little fellow*," the reader, not acquainted with the perſon of the ſaid Doctor, would really ſuppoſe him to be a mammoth of a man—quite the reverſe. He further ſays—"they then began upon Mr. Knight, ſailing-maſter, Mr. Oſborn, lieut. of marines, and all the officers in the boat, and plundered their pockets, and took their handkerchiefs from their necks. They then landed us at the foot of the Baſhaw's palace, where we were received by a guard, who conducted us into the palace, before the Baſhaw. He viewed us with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and had us conducted into an apartment where we found the captain and ſeveral officers, who arrived in another boat juſt before us. Here was a table ſet in the European ſtyle. The ſervants appeared to be Malteſe and Neapolitan ſlaves. Here we ſupped; after which it was announced that another boat had arrived with our officers and men, who were before the Baſhaw. Captain Bainbridge requeſted me to go and look for Doctor Harwood, whom it was feared was killed. I found him with the carpenter, before the Baſhaw, ſtripped of every thing but their ſhirts and trowſers. They afterwards informed me that they were ſtripped in the boat when I loſt my ſurtout, and when they got within a few rods of the ſhore, they were thrown into the ſea, and left either to drown or ſwim aſhore. The Baſhaw gave them dry clothes, and we were all conducted before the Baſhaw and formed into a half circle. He was ſeated on his little throne, which was decorated in the Turkiſh order, and made a handſome appearance. He is a good looking man, aged about thirty-five. He counted us, viewed us with a ſmile and ſeemed highly pleaſed with us. We were then conducted, by the miniſter of axterior relations and a guard, to the houſe formerly occupied by the American Conſul, a very good houſe, with a large court, and room enough for our convenience.—

We were feated here about 9 o'clock in the evening. Captain Bainbridge got permiffion from the Bafhaw to fend for the Danifh Conful, who paid us a vifit, and offered every affiftance in his power. We flept upon mats and blankets fpread upon the floor, which was compofed of tiles." Although the Doctor here makes no difcrimination between men and officers, it muft not be underftood that he includes the former when he fays *we*, excepting fervants—no, no, it was only the officers who were treated to a fupper, and lodged in this comfortable manfion, and had mats to fleep on. You will, therefore, pleafe to remember, that when the Doctor fays *we*, it is the very fame as if he had faid *we officers only;* for he does not think proper to defcend to the tafk of relating how the crew were provided for, or whether they were but half alive or all dead. I muft, therefore, inform the interefted and humane reader, that as foon as we were huddled into the boats, all, or the moft of us, were ftripped of all our clothing excepting a fhirt, trowfers and hat; fome, however, who were in the firft boat, under the eye of our officers, fared a little better, and kept the moft of their clothes. When we came near the fhore, we were all precipitated into the foaming waves; for the wind blew very frefh, and left to the free exercife of our talents at fwimming or wading afhore. At the beach ftood a row of armed men on each fide of us, who paffed us along to the caftle gate. It opened, and we afcended a winding, narrow, difmal paffage, which led into a paved avenue, lined with terrific janizaries, armed with glittering fabres, mufkets, piftols and tommahawks. Several of them fpit on us as we paffed. We were hurried forward through various turnings and flights of ftairs, until we found ourfelves in the dreadful prefence of his exalted majefty, the puiffant Bafhaw of Tripoli. His throne, on which he was feated, was raifed about four feet from the furface, inlaid with mofaic, covered with a cufhion of the richeft velvet, fringed with cloth of gold, befpangled with brilliants. The floor of the hall was of variegated marble,

ſpread with carpets of the moſt beautiful kind. The walls were of porcelain, fantaſtically enamelled, but too finical to be called elegant. The Baſhaw made a very ſplendid and tawdry appearance. His veſture was a long robe of cerulean ſilk, embroidered with gold and glittering with tinſel. His broad belt was ornamented with diamonds, and held two gold-mounted piſtols, and a ſabre with a golden hilt, chain and ſcabbard. On his head he wore a large white turban, decorated with ribbons. His dark beard ſwept his breaſt. He is about five feet ten inches in height, rather corpulent, and of a manly, majeſtic deportment. When he had ſatiated his pride and curioſity by gazing on us with complacent triumph, we were ordered to follow a guard. They conducted us into a dreary, filthy apartment of the caſtle, where there was ſcarcely room for us to turn round. Here we remained an hour or two dripping and ſhivering with the chills of the damp cells, and the vapors of the night. The Neapolitan ſlaves were buſily employed in bringing us dry clothing to exchange for our wet. We rejoiced to ſee men who wore the habiliments of Chriſtians, and ſincerely thanked them for their apparent kindneſs. We thought them diſintereſted, generous and hoſpitable; for we expected to receive our clothes again when dry; but the inſidious ſcoundrels never afterwards would make us any reſtoration. The clothes which we gave them were new, and thoſe which they brought us in exchange were old and ragged. We were then taken to a piazza, nearly in front of the Baſhaw's audience hall, where we lodged for the night. It was floored with tiles and arched above, but open, on one ſide, to the chilling blaſts of intemperate night, and as many of us had wet clothes on, and nothing to cover us with; add to this the gloomy proſpects before us, and the painful apprehenſions of chains, ſtripes and dungeons, and you may well ſuppoſe we had not a very refreſhing night's repoſe. In the morning, about eight o'clock, an old ſorcereſs came to ſee us. She had the complexion of a ſquaw, bent

with age, ugly by nature, and rendered frightful by art. She looked round upon us, and raifed a fhrill cry of *bu-bu-bu-bu*, ftruck her ftaff three times upon the pavement, and then went through and examined us. There was a black man amongft us, and him fhe felected and placed afide from the reft. We fuppofed fhe had chofen him for herfelf, but he remained in the caftle, as one of the cooks for the Mamelukes, This frightful hag is held, by the Bafhaw and all the Tripolitans, in the higheft veneration, not only as an enchantrefs, but as a prophetefs alfo. It is faid by them that fhe predicted the capture of the Philadelphia, and believed by them that the fhip ftruck the fhoals in confequence of her incantations.

The potent Bafhaw prefently made his appearance, and we were ordered to rife and pull off our hats. He walked paft us, into his balcony, and we were permitted to ramble for a while, through the various divifions of this chaotic pile. Some of our men had faved a little cafh from the ruffian hands of our hoftile pillagers; but there was nothing eatable to be purchafed in the caftle. We had eaten nothing for twenty-fix hours, and began to feel our appetite. The Neapolitans, by paying a certain fhare of the profits, were permitted to retail *aqua-deut*, a fpirituous liquor diftilled from the fruit of the date-tree, and fimilar to our whifky. This they kept to fell in their cells, in the caftle, around the doors of which, our fhivering men thronged, and fuch as had money fhared it with fuch as had not. But thefe villainous, mercenary knaves, taking advantage of our ignorance in the price of the liquor, and of the money which they gave us in change, allowed no more than about one fourth of the real value of a dollar.

We were now collected together again, in front of a large window, which looked into a back yard. The Bafhaw, his fon, the renegade Scotchman, commodore Lyfh, and feveral of the Bafhaw's officers, appeared at the window, and the Commodore began to interrogate us refpecting our Captain, &c. He afked us whether we thought our captain a

coward, or a traitor? We anſwered, neither. He replied, "who with a frigate of forty-four guns, and three hundred men, would ſtrike his colours to one ſolitary gun-boat, muſt ſurely be one or the other." We told him that our ſhip being faſt on the ſhoals, we had no chance to defend ourſelves, having thrown our guns overboard, and that although we were in no immediate danger, except from one gun-boat, we judged, and feared, that as ſoon as night favoured their deſigns, they would ſurround and cut us to pieces, giving no quarters. He ſaid there was no neceſſity for throwing our guns overboard; that we might have known ſhe would be got off, as ſoon as the wind ſhifted, and aſſured us ſhe was already afloat—that if we had not ſtruck our flag, they would not have ventured to board us, and highly ridiculed our captain's cowardice, if, in fact, it was owing to want of courage; he perſiſted in the idea, that the ſhip was given up by deſign; for he ſaid, the captain not bringing a pilot with him, and leaving the brig, when he acknowledged himſelf unacquainted with the harbour, and then running ſo nigh in ſo precipitately, were circumſtances weighty enough to overbalance all doubts of his treachery, or, at leaſt, indubitable evidences of his want of judgment, and proofs of his puſillanimity. The Baſhaw was very inquiſitive to know the number of ſhipping and ſtrength of America. We gave him ſurpriſing accounts of both. The commodore aſked us, if there were any mechanicks amongſt us, and ſaid, that ſuch as were willing to work at their trades, ſhould be paid for their labour; if not, they would be compelled to do other work. He was informed there were ſhip carpenters and blackſmiths amongſt us. They were ſelected from the reſt, counted, and then mingled with us again. We were then collected in a body, and marched through dark and winding alleys, to the principal gate of the caſtle, and different from the one at which we entered. Paſſing out of this, we were conducted to an old magazine, as they called it, filled with ſacks of grain, meal, lumber, and uſeleſs combuſtibles,

which we were ordered to remove to another old building, not far diſtant. This was the firſt of our labour. Our drivers began to diſplay their ferocity, by beating ſeveral of our men, who were rather dilatory in obeying their new boatſwains. When we had finiſhed removing the rubbiſh, we were given to underſtand, that this was to be the place of our confinement. It had once been occupied as a priſon, by the Swediſh captains, who had ſhared a fate ſimilar to ours. The priſon was about fifty feet in length, twenty in breadth, and twenty-five in height, with a ſky-light, and two front, grated windows. It had a moſt dreary appearance, was dark and fuliginous. Not a morſel of food had we yet taſted, and hunger, like the vulture of Prometheus, began to corode our vitals.

Towards evening, ſome coarſe, white bread, was brought, and we were all ordered out of the priſon, and as we were counted in again, each one received a ſmall white loaf, of about twelve ounces. This was all we had for the day. About ſun ſet, our keepers came, and ordered us all out, to be counted in. We were under the diſagreeable apprehenſions of being ſeparated, and ſold into diſtant parts of the country, and at every call of all hands, painful ſenſations would diſturb our breaſts. We were counted in, one by one, and as we paſſed the grim jailor, were under the humiliating injunction of pulling off our hats. Thoſe who refuſed this devoir were ſure of a ſevere baſtinading. We had nothing to keep us from the cold, damp earth, but a thin, tattered ſail-cloth; the floor of the priſon was very uneven, planted with hard pebbles, and as we had nothing but a ſhirt to ſoften our beds, and nothing but the ground for a pillow, and very much crouded in the bargain, the clouds of night ſhed no ſalutary repoſe. Let us now return to our officers.

Doctor C. ſays—"This morning, Nov. 1ſt. the Daniſh Conſul, Mr. Niſſen, paid us another viſit. Captain Bainbridge engaged him to furniſh us with proviſions, and ſuch other neceſ-

ſaries as we might want. Our dwelling was furniſhed in a plain ſtyle, and we were ſupplied with freſh proviſions that were tolerably good. We were allowed to go to the front door, and walk on the terrace, or top of the houſe, which commanded a handſome proſpect of the ſea, the harbour, the palace, and the adjoining country. Here we could ſee our ſhip on the rocks, full of Turks, and ſurrounded by their boats; and a conſtant ſtream of boats going to, and bringing off the plunder of the ſhip. We could ſee thoſe robbers running about town with our uniform coats and clothing on. The miniſter of exterior relations promiſed to be friendly, and collect as much of our clothing and effects as he could, and return them to us."

The Doctor does not think it worth mentioning, that almoſt the whole crew were ſuffering intolerably, by hunger and nakedneſs; and it is very evident, that he thought more of uniform coats, than of his naked countrymen, who had no coats to put on. He ſays, alſo, that the ſhip was lying on the rocks, which was poſitive mendacity, for ſhe floated clear, early that very morning! And I have obſerved, in all the public letters, that this circumſtance has been carefully concealed.

"This day, Captain Bainbridge wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, with the lamentable tale of our misfortunes, containing a brief ſtatement of the circumſtances of our capture; requeſting, that arrangements might be made to meet the exigencies of himſelf, the other officers, and officers' ſervants, and adding, that the remainder of the crew would be provided for by the Regency."

How did he know this? What aſſurance had he from the Baſhaw, that he would provide for us, any more than for himſelf and his favourites? It is true, he might ſuppoſe that the Baſhaw would put us to labour, if we were not provided for by our government, and that, for his own benefit, he would allow us ſufficient food to ſuſtain exiſtence; but, was this any reaſon, that no farther notice ſhould be taken of us? That

government ſhould make no appropriations for the mitigation of our ſufferings? How did he know, but that benevolent characters in America, might inſtitute charitable contributions for the palliation of our miſeries? How did he ever know, but that Congreſs might interpoſe for our relief? Or, how did he know but that the department of the navy might ſee fit to allow us ſome part of our rations or wages? But his declaration, that we would be provided for by the Regency, precluded, at once, the neceſſity of any executive, legiſlative, public, or private aid whatſoever. No doubt, had Captain Bainbridge made a juſt ſtatement of our ſituation to the department of the navy, repreſenting, that we were wholly dependent on the clemency of a faithleſs fratricide for the ſupport of life, and ſoliciting, in our behalf, as well as for his train of ſervants, that ſome proviſion might be made for us, a liberal and patriotic ſpirit would have granted us laudable and adequate alleviation, until a ranſom, or enfranchiſement could be effected. For certainly thoſe who were compelled to labour, were under greater neceſſity for temporary aid, and governmental munificence, than thoſe who were cloiſtered in idleneſs. At numerous times, when we were on the very brink of ſtarvation, and petitioned Captain Bainbridge for ſome part of our pay or rations, he invariably gave us to underſtand, that it was entirely out of his power to do any thing for us. No wonder, when he had impreſſed, not only the government, but all the people of the United States, with the belief that we ſtood in no need of aſſiſtance. The fact is an obvious one —He had committed a moſt flagrant blunder, and to parry off the ſhafts of obloquy, would hold up the idea of moderation in his demands, and frugality in his expenditures of the public money. Or, if not, his conduct evinces a total diſregard and dereliction of his crew. How could an officer feaſt and fatten on the public benefaction, and, at the ſame time, be unmindful of his men, who had an equal claim on the government for ſimilar favours? How could he be the means of de-

barring that claim, by afferting, that we would be provided for without it? Had not the Captain as much reafon to expect that the Bafhaw would make provifion for him and his officers, and his officers' fervants, as for us? Or, were the men whom he had brought into this diftrefs by his blunders, totally unworthy of his regard? We were completely ignorant of this duplicity, until we returned to America, and verily thought, that Captain Bainbridge had done every thing in his power to meliorate our condition. What muft we, then, think of a commander, who would give up his men to the enemy, contrary to their wifhes, and then abandon them to ftarve, or rely on the mercy of fanguinary barbarians?

Nov. 2.—Before funrife, the horrid clanking of huge bolts, announced the early vigilance of our keepers, who ordered us all out. They told the carpenters to ftand by themfelves—the blackfmiths by themfelves, alfo—the coopers the fame, and each company were appointed to their feveral employments, under the direction and command of Turkifh mafters; but they did not effect much, for a confiderable time. The remainder of our men were diftributed into different gangs, as we called them; fome to the caftle, to carry ftone, dirt, lime, and mortar, where they were making repairs. Some were fent as cooks in the caftle, and ten men were taken from amongft us, to be denominated cooks. Their employment was to bring water from a well, about a quarter of a mile diftant, for the whole of us to drink—to bring, and ferve out, the bread and oil to us, and fometimes, to boil what the Turks call *coos-coos*, which is barley ground very coarfe, and neither fifted nor bolted; with which they occafionally fed us. Some were fent on board the frigate, and remained all night. About twelve or one o'clock the cooks were called, to go for bread, and prefently returned with a quantity of black barley loaves, coarfe, and full of ftraws and chaff, weighing about twelve ounces each. Of thefe they gave us two apiece, and, bad as

they were, our men ſeized them with avidity. This was our allowance for twenty-four hours.

Nov. 3.—"The Baſhaw ſent for the carpenter to go on board the ſhip; he went, and found ſix feet water in the hold. The carpenter's crew and fifty men, were ordered, and carried on board, to work. At night, a gale of wind, and a heavy ſea, hove the ſhip off the rocks, and the carpenter returned."

No doubt, as the Doctor ſays, there was ſix feet water in the hold; but he ought to have mentioned, that the ſhip was ſcuttled by us; otherwiſe, it conveys the idea, that the ſhip filled in conſequence of the ſhock at firſt, or injury on the ſhoals.

If our men, and all the Turks, have not uttered wilful falſehoods, or been very egregiouſly miſtaken, the ſhip was hove off the rocks, the very next morning after ſhe was captured. This morning, after a large company was ſent to the ſhip, and the moſt of our crew diſpoſed of in different avocations, and at various employments, a conſiderable number of us were told, after having been counted, to return into the priſon, and be ready, at a moment's warning, for any emergency. Some of them, however, ſtrayed away, went into the town, and returned intoxicated. Our keepers perceived it, and proceeded to exhibit exemplary puniſhment, and ſate, at once, their thirſt of revenge. The inſtrument with which they prepare a man for torture, is called a baſtone; It is generally about four or five feet long, and as thick in the middle as a man's leg, tapering to the ends. At equal diſtances from the centre, it is perforated in two places, and a rope incurvated, the ends paſſed through the holes, and knotted. This forms a loop. The perſon is then thrown on his back, his feet put through the loop, and a man at each end of the ſtick, both at once, twiſt it round, ſcrew his feet and ancles tight together, and raiſe the ſoles of his feet nearly horizontal. A Turk ſits on his back, and two men, with each a bambo, or branch of the date tree, as large as a walking-ſtaff, and about three feet

in length, hard, and very heavy, ftrip or roll up their fleeves, and, with all their ftrength and fury, apply the bruifing cudgel to the bottoms of the feet. In this manner they punifhed feveral of our men, writhing with extreme anguifh, and curfing their tormentors. They were then hampered with a heavy chain at each foot, but the next day they were taken off.

Our men began to complain much of hunger, having for this day but the two loaves of filthy, black, and four bread. Some of them, however, who had the good fortune to fave a little money, were permitted to go to the market, to purchafe vegetables. Their market makes a wretched appearance. On each fide of the main ftreet in the town, commencing at the principal gate, a long ftring of low mud-wall huts, on each fide the way, is all the market they have; at the doors of which, feated crofs-legged on the ground, and a blanket wrapped round them, the Turks retail pumpkins, carrots, turnips, fcallions, oranges, lemons, limes, figs, &c. &c. with a thoufand trinkets, and haberdafhers' wares.

At night moft of our men returned from the frigate, and brought with them beef, pork, and bread, which was generoufly fhared with thofe who had none, and though raw, devoured with voracity. The floor of our prifon was not large enough to contain, or admit us all, ftretched at full length, and many of us were obliged to fit, or ftand, all night. This occafioned a ftrife, or crowding, at the prifon door, to be the firft, or, at leaft, not the laft counted in, for the firft were confidered as being lawfully entitled to the fpot of ground for the night, and no one attempted to eject or ouft them. It was furprifing to witnefs the invincible fpirit of our tars, and a perfon would be at a lofs, whether to afcribe it to a philofophic fortitude, or natural apathy. In the moft defponding afpect of times, they would caper, fing, jeft, and look as cheerful, many of them, as if they had been at a feaft or wedding.

Nov. 4.—A large number of our men were again sent, and employed in bringing ashore the product of the frigate. The officers were prohibited walking on the terrace of their prison. Some of us were every day reserved for sudden avocations; to go and carry burthens, in different parts of the town, and for any other enterprize. At every emergency, or call for men, a wardman, or keeper, would enter the prison, take such as fancy, or accident pointed out, and if there was the least hesitation in obeying his commands, a severe beating was the result of such contumacy. Four of us were chosen to be the pack-horses of some unknown expedition. We were led by a grisly emissary of the Bashaw, through many crooked and dirty alleys, until we came to a house, at which he ordered us to halt. He went in, but soon returned, and gave us signals to follow him. He led us through a gloomy passage to a large court-yard. Our breasts palpitated on the way, but our fears were dissipated when we found ourselves surrounded by a dozen beautiful females, who came from the piazzas above. As the women in the streets are constantly wrapped and muffled up in blankets, which conceal their shapes and faces, except one eye, this, to us, was a novel sight; for the ladies were exposed to view, as much as the half-naked belles of our own towns. They were fantastically wrapped in loose robes of striped silk; their arms, necks, and bosoms bare. Their eye-lids stained round the edges with black. Their hair braided, turned up, and fastened with a broad tinsel fillet. They had three or four rings in each ear as large in circumference as a dollar. Several of them were very delicate and handsome.—They brought us dates, olives, oranges and milk. They expressed or manifested great surprize at our appearance, and, like other ladies, were full of giggling and loquacity. Our driver then bade us follow him again into another yard, where he shewed us a large copper kettle, and ordered us to take it up and follow his footsteps. We carried it about half a mile to another house, where there was a number of women, one

of which would have killed us if ſhe had not been prevented by our maſter. He made us underſtand that her malignity aroſe from her huſband having been killed by the Americans, in the boat at which we fired when we were on the ſhoals.—Here we left the kettle and returned to the priſon. The ſtreets are not paved, never ſwept, and are full of ſharp pebbles, and having no ſhoes, I ſuffered intolerably both by the cold and in carrying burthens, until they became indurated by uſe.

November 5.—" Our new maſters came and cloſed up the paſſage which led to the top of the houſe, and a guard was ſet at the front door to prevent our going into the ſtreet. The miniſter ſent his chief ſecretary with a parole of honour, written in French, which we all ſigned." The Turks informed us that the reaſon of their cloſing up the paſſage was a ſuſpicion that we men were concerting with the officers ſome plan of eſcape, and that the ſuſpicion was raiſed from a report of this kind fabricated by the infamous Wilſon, in hopes to ingratiate himſelf with the Baſhaw. Our priſon door was more effectually ſecured at the ſame time. This day ſeveral of our ſeamen, who were born under Britiſh colours, flattered themſelves with the fallacious hope of obtaining emancipation by throwing themſelves under the protection of the Britiſh government, and claiming from the Engliſh Conſul the privileges or exemptions of Britiſh ſubjects. For this purpoſe they went to him and he regiſtered a number of their names, promiſed to write to his government, and, if poſſible, effectuate their releaſe. They returned highly elated with the proſpect of freedom. But a large majority of our patriotic tars, who had adopted America as their country, laughed at their credulity and hiſſed at their project, poſitively declaring that they would not be releaſed by a government which they deteſted, on account of its tolerating the impreſſment of ſeamen, and ſwearing that they would ſooner remain under the Baſhaw than George the third.

November 6.—Our treatment and provisions much the same. "The English Consul, Mr. M'Donough, paid our officers a visit, and offered them every assistance in his power." As I was walking the streets, on a return from carrying a bundle of faggots into the town, I met with a Mahometan who spoke English tolerably fluent. He informed that he had been in America, in the time of our revolution, a servant to General Fayette; and when his master returned to France, he continued in America for two years, then went to his native country, and was a soldier in the French revolution, went with Bonaparte's army to Egypt, and when the French evacuated that country, his life was despaired of, and he was left in a wretched hospital, and would have perished had it not been for the fraternal kindness of a benevolent Mussulman, who took him to his house and treated him with the affectionate attention of the nearest consanguinity, and who was the means of saving his life. While in a debilitated state both of body and mind, he was pursuaded by his benefactor, whose importunities it seemed ungrateful to resist, to embrace the religion of Mahomet. He was now on his way to Tunis with a travelling company, appeared to be well respected by his comrades, was decently dressed, and seemed to have plenty of money; but he asked me a thousand questions concerning America, and seriously regretted his ever having left it, and of his transmutation of religion; but he still had hopes of making his escape. He gave me a Spanish dollar which he insisted on my accepting, shook hands and bade me adieu.

November 7.—Several of our men were much indisposed from sleeping on the damp ground, and being almost destitute of clothes. A small apartment or cell adjoining our prison was appropriated for the use and retirement of the sick, and Dorman, who was loblolly-boy on board of the frigate, was appointed to attend them. Another room, contiguous to that, was the receptacle of our provisions, and the men who were called cooks were permitted to sleep in it by themselves.

Another cell, at a different part of the prifon-yard, was fet apart for the carpenters, coopers, and blackfmiths to fleep in; fo that our prifon was not quite fo much crouded as at firft.

November 8.—" The Bafhaw fent for Capt. Bainbridge and told him that John Wilfon had informed him, that Captain Bainbridge, before hauling down the colours, threw overboard nineteen boxes of dollars, and a large bag of gold. Captain Bainbridge affured him it was falfe, and gave him his word and honour that no money was thrown over to his knowledge, but that the money in queftion was left at Malta. In the evening the Bafhaw, not being fatisfied, fent for the captain's fervant, and ordered him flogged if he did not tell the truth concerning the money. The boy denied having any knowledge of it. After repeating the threat feveral times, and the boy infifting on his not knowing any thing about the money, he was acquitted. Wilfon had turned traitor, and given the enemy all the affiftance in his power. He now acts as overfeer of our men." This perfidious wretch was a quarter-mafter on board the frigate. He was born in Germany, and fpoke the lingua-franca very fluently. He as yet mingled amongft us, and acted as a fpy, carrying to the Bafhaw every frivolous and a thoufand falfe tales. He had not as yet affumed the habiliments of the Turks, fo that he was the more dangerous. The Bafhaw rode out this day, and as he returned, was to pafs, with his retinue, through our prifon-yard, which is approximate to the caftle. Wilfon came and told us that it was the Bafhaw's orders that we fhould parade, in fingle file, in front of our prifon, with our hats off, and when he fhould make his appearance we muft give him three cheers. He prefently made his entrance into the yard, and being marfhalled according to orders, fome of our filly affes fwung their hats and brayed like the animal they perfonated; but the moft of us refufed, with a laudable fpirit of indignation, this mean and fycophantic teftimonial of a tyrant's applaufe. His return from his cavalcade was announced by the firing of can-

non from the caftle, and crackling of muskets on the beach.— He was preceded by a foot-guard at fome diftance. Next to the foot-guard was the high conftable of the town police, mounted on an elegant Arabian grey, in his hand he held perpendicularly before him a three-pronged fceptre, richly ornamented. His majefty was mounted on a milk-white mare, fumptuoufly caparifoned and glittering with golden trappings. He was dreffed much the fame as when we firft faw him, excepting a white robe, which had a head like a hood, and on the top a large taffel. At his right hand rode a huge negro, who was made one of the Bafhaw's principal officers, and admitted to this diftinguifhed honour for having affaffinated the Bafhaw's brother, who was a powerful and dangerous rival. Three or four of his younger children went before him, feated on mules, with Neapolitan flaves running by their fides, holding with one hand the bridle of the mule, and with the other an umbrella over the head of the child. At his left hand rode his vizier, or prime minifter, his chief officers of ftate, and was followed and attended by his Mamelukes, or life-guards, without order or arrangement, courting his approbation by numerous feats of equeftrian agility. Two large boxes flung acrofs a mule, led by a trufty Neapolitan flave, contained his principal treafures.

November 9.—" Our captain eftablifhed a credit with the Danifh Conful, who fupplied us with neceffary provifions, and with cloth for matraffes. A guard was placed at our door to prevent our going into the ftreet, or purchafing any books or clothing."

November 10.—The Turks appeared very favage and fpit at us, and on us, as we paffed the ftreets. The keepers or drivers beat us without any pretext, and acted more like infernal than human beings. We did not then know the caufe of this alteration for the worfe, but perhaps the following will account for it. " Several Turks came in and informed Capt. Bainbridge that the Bafhaw had been told that Capt. Rodgers,

who commanded the United States frigate John Adams, treated the Tripolitan prifoners very bad, and that they feared we fhould fuffer for it." Several of our men were fent for and interrogated very clofely concerning the money Wilfon had reported was thrown into the fea; but they all unanimoufly corroborated the affertions of Capt. Bainbridge, that there was no money funk.

November 11.—As I was coming in at the principal gate of the town, having been out on the fands for water, I faw a hand and foot hanging at the outfide of the gate frefh bleeding, and obferving a clufter of people not far diftant, I ftepped to fee the caufe of their being collected. The object of their curiofity was a wretch with his left hand and right foot recently amputated, faint and almoft expiring. The ftumps had been dipped in boiling pitch. This is their mode of punifhment for capital offences, and the miferable object is dragged out of town and left to breathe his laft in the moft exquifite agonies, unlefs fome friend fees fit to compaffionate his fufferings, and then he fome times recovers; for you will fee a great number of men in Tripoli hobbling about the ftreets thus mutilated.

November 13.—"The minifter of exterior relations fent his droggerman to Capt. Bainbridge, and informed him, that if he would fend an immediate order to Commodore Preble to deliver up the Tripolitan prifoners, captured by Captain Rodgers, laft fummer, amounting to eighty in number, we might remain where we were, but if he did not comply we fhould fare worfe. Captain Bainbridge replied that he could not command Commodore Preble, and therefore could not comply with his requeft. At nine in the evening a Tripolitan officer came armed with two piftols and a fabre, and faid—"to-night, nothing; to-morrow, the caftle." We accordingly prepared for the caftle. This day we were employed in bringing pig-iron and fhot from the boats at the wharf to the magazine in the navy-yard. I was very fick, and complained to the prin-

cipal keeper that I was unable to work; but the only confolation I received was that of being called a *kelp*, (dog) and told to do as I was ordered. At night our men returned from the frigate with fome more beef and pork, which, eaten raw, hunger gave a delicious flavour.

November 14.—"Breakfafted early to be ready for our new habitation. At 9, A. M. a guard came and ordered us to the caftle. We formed agreeable to rank, and marched to the caftle. We were huddled into a gloomy cell amongft our men, where there was hardly room for us to ftand. Here we fpent the day without food, and were fcoffed at by our foes until night, when, to our happy furprize, we were conducted back to our old place of abode." Poor Doctor! in this whining tale there are feveral mifreprefentations. That the officers were in the prifon amongft us, contaminating fellows, is true; but the Doctor and his fellow-officers, though nobody doubts their feeling very big, muft be gigantic monfters indeed, if they had hardly room enough to ftand in a cell at leaft twenty-five feet high, and which contained every night nearly three hundred men, who were chiefly abfent the whole day. Neither was our prifon in the caftle, as he intimates; and if he remained all day without food, after having eaten a hearty breakfaft, it was owing to his own faftidioufnefs, for our men boiled fome meat which was brought from the frigate, and invited all the officers to partake of it, and feveral of them made a hearty repaft. If this famous fon of Efculapius had been three days at a time without food, as we often were, perhaps he might have had an appetite for black bread and falt beef.

While Captain Bainbridge was amongft us, Wilfon came with orders to get men for fome kind of drudgery, when the captain accufed him of informing the Bafhaw of our finking the box of money; he prevaricated, and attempted to extenuate, though he could not pointedly deny the crime. The captain told him that he would have him hanged for a traitor

if ever he returned to America, and in a violent paſſion threw his chain at him. A few days afterwards, Wilſon, probably fearing the reality of his threats, put on the turban, and confirmed his apoſtacy.

November 17.—The Daniſh Conſul ſent ſome freſh proviſions for our ſick, by the requeſt of Captain Bainbridge.—Our bread was very coarſe and muſty. This day I ſaw one of the Mahometan ſaints or Anchorites, who are held in the higheſt veneration by the Tripolitans. He was ſeated on a tomb within a ſmall ſmoky cell, where he kept a lamp inceſſantly burning, which he ſaid was the ſpirit of the dead. He offered me a piece of bread in the name of the prophet, pitied my ſituation, and really appeared to poſſeſs philanthropy.

November 18.—A number of us was ſent to carry powder from the quay to the caſtle, which is about three quarters of a mile. The powder was taken from the frigate and was ſtill wet. I was compelled to carry a caſk of it, which was very heavy; and my feet being tender, gave me inſufferable pain.—What would the querimoneous Doctor think, if he had been doomed to ſuch hardſhips?

November 20.—Thomas Prince was metamorphoſed from a Chriſtian to a Turk. He was a lad of about ſeventeen years of age, and had a mother, as he informed us, living in ſome part of Rhode-Iſland. Our men now began to conſtruct what they termed cots. They were formed by faſtening four pieces of timber at the corners, in the ſhape of a bedſtead, and then weaving a net of ropes like a bed-cord. Theſe were ſuſpended from ſpikes driven in the wall, and compoſed a lodging much more comfortable and healthful than the moiſt earth; but materials for theſe cots being very ſcarce, but few of us could be provided with a luxury ſo rare and ineſtimable.

November 21.—Doctor Cowdery informs us that a man, one hundred and ſixteen years of age, came to him to be cured of deafneſs. We do not know which to doubt moſt—the Doctor's veracity or the Turk's credulity.

November 22.—We wrote a petition to the Bafhaw in behalf of the fick, praying for fome kind of blankets or clothing to keep them from the earth, appealing both to his humanity and his intereft. "The Bafhaw refufed to furnifh neceffary clothing for the fick; or any thing for them to eat but four, filthy bread. Captain Bainbridge contracted with the Danifh Conful to fupply the fick with beef and vegetables for foup every day."

November 25.—Sixteen of us were put to boring cannon; the labour was intenfe, and having neither bread nor any thing elfe to eat, until four o'clock in the afternoon, hunger and wearinefs were almoft infupportable. Some of our men, by fome clandeftine means, were found intoxicated; for which they were inhumanly beaten, and confined in fhackels. Whenever inftances of this kind occurred, *all* were fure to fuffer for the mifconduct of a *few*.

November 26.—To the difgrace of human nature be it faid, that although we all had an equal fhare of bread allowed us, fome had the meannefs, the felfifhnefs, the brutality to fteal from their companions in mifery the only ligament of foul and body. We frequently divided our pittance, and kept one loaf over night to eat in the morning, and often when morning came we found ourfelves pillaged of our ftores, and nothing to filence the importunate calls of hunger. About twelve o'clock I received a fmall white loaf from the allowance of our officers, and never in my life did I tafte a more lufcious dainty. It came from Mr. Morris, who was or had been by trade a baker, and the next day I fent him the following ftanzas; friendfhip the ftrain, and gratitude the mufe.

THE LOAF.

THE best of all friends is the friend in distress,
And more the rich morsel I prize,
Imparted when hunger and poverty press,
Than thousands, did fortune suffice.

With gratitude, friend, to the parent above,
  And thanks to yourself not a few;
I took the sweet loaf as a token of love,
  And ate in remembrance of you.

To life-wasting hunger, to heart-piercing cold,
  To scourges of tyrants a prey;
Midst demons of slavery too fierce to be told,
  And comrades more brutish than they.

The least of my wants not a soul has reliev'd,
  Nor friendship invited a beam;
From you the first crust of regard I receiv'd—
  From you the first crumb of esteem.

Then take the fond lay as the yeast of return,
  For, while I thus indigent live,
Though my breast, like an oven, with gratitude burn,
  'Tis all I am able to give.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER IX.

A PETITION.

WHEN in the pow'r of foes, we must be civil,
And sometimes supplicate a king, or devil.

ON the 27th of November, we presented a petition to the Bashaw in the following language.—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GRAND BASHAW OF TRIPOLI.

The petition of the American prisoners most humbly sheweth—That when your petitioners were captured, in the United States frigate Philadelphia, they were plundered of all their clothing, and are daily sickening and suffering most intolerably by the inclemency of the season, and by not having any thing to sleep on to keep them from the cold, damp ground, but a thin and tattered sail-cloth: and also, that your petitioners, not receiving sufficient food and nourishment to enable them to endure the hardships and perform the hard tasks assigned them, are frequently most inhumanly bastinadoed for the lack of that strength which adequate nutriment would restore and supply. Your petitioners, therefore, pray that his Excellency, consulting his interest as well as his honour, by contributing to our relief, would graciously be pleased to grant us more comfortable clothing, and more nutricious food; and your petitioners, while they continue your prisoners, will remain your most faithful, industrious, obedient and humble servants.

November 28.—In consequence of the foregoing petition, the Bashaw ordered us two barrels of pork from the frigate. It was really laughable to see with what ridiculous pride and

pompofity our chief keeper performed the functions of a purfer's fteward; but it was not laughable to fee with what greedinefs our half-ftarved crew feized and confumed their crude dividend of the meat.

November 29.—I was fent to work in the caftle carrying dirt, ftones, mortar, lime and fand, for repairing the walls.—A little paft 12 o'clock our overfeer beckoned to me to follow him. I obeyed, and he took me to the cook-houfe and ordered me to take a difh of *coos-coos*, and follow him again. He led me through feveral gloomy, fubterraneous cells, dimly lighted, fmoked black by torches, where were large iron ftaples and chains, once the lot of fome ill-fated object of a tyrant's wrath, until we came to a dungeon ftrongly bolted.—My grim conductor loofened the door, and a wretch appeared, ghaftly and loaded with chains. The difh was handed in without faying a word, and we returned to our labour. I durft not exprefs the curiofity I felt to know what was his accufation. His head was afterwards ftruck off, and carried on a pole through the ftreets of the city.

November 30.—"One of our men attempted to kill himfelf, but was prevented, by the Turks, when in the act of cutting his throat; the wound did not prove mortal." This was C. R. one of the four perfons previoufly mentioned, who was taken in at Gibraltar, and were fo unlawfully detained.—The wound, however, was a mere fcratch, and the lycanthropy, which was the caufe of it, was occafioned by taking a little too much aqua vitæ. Nothing of very great importance for a confiderable term of time. Weft, one of our carpenter's crew, had turned Turk, and had a number of men employed in building gun-boats, repairing gun-carriages, and works of circumvallation. Some of our men were affifting to repair fortifications in mafon work—fome fent into the country every day to cut timber for fhip and boat building—fome boring guns—fome coining buckamfeens in the mint in the Bafhaw's caftle, twenty-five of which are equal to a Spanifh dollar—

ſome carrying mortar from ciſterns in different parts of the town. Our rations continued the ſame, two black barley loaves and about three-fourths of a gill of oil per day—more or leſs baſtinading continually, and once a fortnight we received a little beef and pork. A number of Spaniſh carpenters were employed in building boats and other veſſels for the Regency; and on the 15th of December they had a ſchooner ready for launching. In the afternoon the conſuls all hoiſted their colours, three guns were fired from the battery, and the ſchooner was precipitated into the waves, amidſt the acclamations of a ſhabby multitude of idle ſpectators. "At ſunſet, a firing from the batteries announced the commencement of the Mahometan Ramadam, continuing a lunar month, in which they neither eat, drink nor ſmoke, while the ſun is above the horizon, but feaſt at night. In walking through the town to viſit my patients, I found the moſques and principal houſes illuminated, and the people rejoicing."

On the 17th, as I was returning with a crock of water from the ſands, not far from the large eaſtern gate, I ſaw a man walking towards me leading a child by the hand. Another Turk was juſt before me leading a large fiery courſer, wild, and prancing by his ſide, and as they met the harmleſs child paſſing very near to the horſe's heels, ſtruck him with a ſwitch. The haughty, majeſtic animal, as if conſcious of the indignity, let fly his hoofs and daſhed him into eternity in the twinkling of an eye. The father of the child, as I ſuppoſed it to be, looked at him for a moment—raiſed him up, and perceiving he was paſt all remedy, laid his right hand on his breaſt, lifted his left, raiſed his eyes to heaven, made a ſhort ejaculation, ſeeming to ſay—"It is done—and I acquieſce in thy righteous diſpenſations, O omnipotent God!" He ſeemed perfectly compoſed, took the corpſe in his arms, and walked penſively towards the country. The ſurrounding ſpectators beheld this pathetic ſcene of paternal affliction—this ſudden ſtroke of death, with brutal indifference.

December 20.—"The market was fo poor that we could get nothing for dinner but the fhoulder of a poor dromedary." What the Doctor here complains of in fuch dolorous language, would have been a feaft and produced ftrains of joy with us. Had he been compelled to labour as many of us, quite as good by nature, as himfelf, and been ftinted to two fmall loaves of coarfe, mufty bread, the fhoulder of a dromedary would have been a moft delicious repaft to the querulous gentleman and his dainty companions.

December 22.—One hundred and fifty of us were fent to raife an old wreck deeply buried in the fand, near the beach, eaftward from the town. It was now the coldeft feafon of the year; we were almoft naked, and were driven into the water up to our arm-pits. We had to fhovel the fand from the bottom of the water, and carry it in baskets to the banks.—The chilling waves almoft congealed our blood, to flow no more. The Turks feemed more than ordinarily cruel, exulting in our fufferings. We were kept in the water from funrife until about two o'clock, before we had a mouthful to eat, or were permitted to fun ourfelves. Then brought us fome bread and a jug of acqua-deut. When we had fnatched a fhort repaft, we were driven again into the water, and kept there until funfet. Having no clothes to change, we were obliged to fleep on the ground in our wet ones; which gave many of us fevere colds, and caufed one man to lofe the ufe of his limbs for upwards of a year afterwards. With fuch ufage life became infupportable, and every night when I laid my head on the earth to fleep, I moft fincerely prayed that I might never experience the horrors of another morning.

December 25.—The different conful's colours were all hoifted, and the Neapolitan flaves permitted to attend mafs; for there are no lefs than three Roman Catholic priefts in this place. No relaxation was allowed us.

December 26.—Mr. Godby, late carpenter of the Philadelphia, had been taken out from among the officers, to work in the Baſhaw's navy-yard. He returned every night to his uſual lodgings with the officers. His being employed in giving ſtrength and furtherance to our enemy, raiſed ſuſpicious umbrage in the breaſts of many of our officers, becauſe they ſaid he was not conſtrained to do it. Some of his meſſmates were Mr. Erving, ſerjeant of marines—Mr. Morris, purſer's ſteward—and Mr. Leith, ſhip's cook. Mr. Godby returning home at night a little fuddled, began to vaunt of his liberty, and the privileges he enjoyed ſuperiour to his meſſmates.—They alſo had been kiſſing black betty, and no doubt gave him ſome pungent retort. Blows enſued, and the carpenter found his timbers too weak, and ſomething ſhattered by the attack. The next morning, Godby went to the Baſhaw, and entered a complaint againſt the three perſons above mentioned. Wilſon, the renegade, was now highly in favour with the Baſhaw, and the ſerjeant, while they were on board the ſhip, had given Wilſon a ſevere drubbing, for interfering with the duty of a ſentinel, and this was a fine opportunity to feed revenge. Wilſon acted as interpreter for Godby, and no doubt exaggerated all he ſaid. About 10 o'clock, the three men were brought to the caſtle, before the Baſhaw. Judgement was already paſſed againſt them, and the Baſhaw ordered them baſtinadoed. Wilſon ſtood by, and dictated the puniſhment, telling them, when they came to Erving, not to ſpare his fleſh. They were all moſt unmercifully beaten, on the ſoles of their feet, and on their poſteriors; then hampered, with a huge chain at each leg, and ſent to the priſon with us, where they remained for one night, and the next day were ſent to their wonted reſidence. Godby was as cruel to our men who were under his command, as any of their other drivers, and we all ſuppoſed he would now turn Turk. Doctor Cowdery does not mention this in his journal, or, at leaſt, it has not been publiſhed. What is the reaſon? Why, the rea-

fon is as plain and prominent, as the action was daftardly and flagitious. Godby was a warranted officer, and officers muft not expofe each other's fecret villainies. What was the reafon he was not reported to the commodore, after his liberation, and dealt with according to his demerit? Why, for the very reafon above mentioned. Would you believe, that inftead of a haltar, he received his full pay and rations, for volunteering his fervices in the Bafhaw's employ—building gun-boats, and inftructing the enemy in the arts of defence, and means of repelling our friends, and their foes? Yes, I have never heard that he was ever even reprimanded for his conduct. The cafe with us was quite different. We were compelled to work, or perifh in tortures. He was under no compulfion, but folicited the undertaking, and executed his bufinefs fo effectually, that he received from the Bafhaw, one hundred dollars at a time, for his fervices.

January 2.—"As I paffed out of the gate of the city, I faw a man's head fticking on a pole. On enquiry, I found that it was the head of one of the Bedouins, who, about a year before, had killed the Bafhaw's fon-in-law, who commanded the army in collecting the taxes, in the back part of his dominions. About a quarter of a mile from the gate, the road paffed through a burying ground, full of graves. After this I came into a well cultivated country, which was laid out in fquares of from one to fix acres of ground, each, furrounded with date trees, interfperfed with orange, fig, olive, lemon, and other trees."

The head, which the Doctor here fpeaks of, belonged to the perfon whom I faw confined in the caftle. That the Doctor fhould have feen a "burying ground, full of graves," is very aftonifhing, indeed! It is as wonderful as if he he had feen a town full of houfes.

January 3.—"Went to the Bafhaw's garden, where I met the minifter and the prince, the Bafhaw's eldeft fon. They politely conducted me through the garden, which was ornamented

with a great variety of fruit trees, loaded with fruit, particularly with oranges, lemons, and limes. John Hilliard died in the evening."

The Doctor is as laconic in mentioning the death of our seamen, as he was remiss in attending to them. The company of a "prince," in a flower-garden, was much more pleasing to the Doctor, than the company of a languishing sailor, in a dreary cell. The gratification of his vanity was obviously anterior to the offices of humanity. He frequently informs us of his prescriptions for the Bashaw and his family, but seldom mentions the sickness or sufferings of his own countrymen. Hilliard died of a flux, which might have been greatly mitigated, if not cured, had he received proper medical attention.

ELEGY

On the death of John Hilliard, *who died Jan. 3d,* 1804, *in the prison of Tripoli,*

[Published in the Port Folio.]

Hilliard, of painful life bereft,
Is now a slave no more;
But here no relative has left,
His exit to deplore!

No parent, no fond brother, stands
Around his clay-cold bed;
No wife, with tender, trembling hands,
Supports his dying head.

No sister follows or attends
His melancholy bier;
Nor from a lover's eye descends
The soft distilling tear;—

But foes, and of a barb'rous kind,
Surround him as he dies;
A horror to his fainting mind,
And to his closing eyes.

What though no monumental stone
Bespeaks a guilty name,
By splendid trophies basely won,
Damn'd to eternal fame;

If but an honest heart he wore,
If virtue's paths he trod,
He was, so poets sung of yore,
The noblest work of God.

His fellow-pris'ners strove to cheer
His sad departing soul,
And bade the sympathetic tear
In free profusion roll.

Mourn not—'twas Heav'n's allwise behest,
And merciful decree,
That gave his wearying sorrows rest,
And set the captive free.

January 4.—William Anderfon died. He had been fick ever fince we fell into the hands of the Turks. Both him and Hilliard were placed on cots, carried by four of our men, and interred, with as much decency as poffible, ont he beach, at the weftern part of the town, without the gates, and near the wall.

January 12.—" The Bafhaw's eldeft daughter was married to Selim, the Bafhaw's chief cafileda or treafurer. Wilfon received 500 baftinadoes, for quarrellIng with the noted Lyfle." The new moon appeared, and the Ramadam ended. The Turks were all looking at the moon, and muttering fome kind of prayer or thanks. Several of the caftle guns, and a falute from the frigate, which now lay moored in the harbour, was fired at fun fet. Joy feemed to brighten the gloomy vifages of all the Tripolitans.

January 15.—The feaft, called Byram, commenced. Every gun in Tripoli proclaimed the day. The Turks all appeared arrayed in new fuits of their beft attire. The markets teemed with the richeft productions I had ever feen them;

but this, to us, was only a tantalizing profpect. Their bakers were too much engroffed with the pleafures of the feaft, to attend to their bufinefs, and we had nothing but the camelion's rations for this day.

January 16.—When hope is nearly expiring under the torturing hand of defpair, what a fmall anodyne will revive her. Captain Bainbridge, in company with all the confuls, vifited the Bafhaw, and this we confidered as a prefage of pacification.

January 17.—The feaft ended this evening. The confuls' flags, which had been flying for three days, were ftruck, and the people refumed their ufual vocations. We were now fupplied, every Sunday, with frefh provifions and vegetables, for foups.

January 20.—Happening in at a Greek's fhop, he fhowed me a facred relict of the holy Crofs, which he had purchafed at, and brought from Jerufalem. It was about four inches long, of no intrinfic value, and yet this fuperftitious fanatic faid he would not give it for all the wealth of the Bafhaw. I reached my hand to take it, but he faid I muft not touch it, unlefs I had recently partaken of the eucharift. I told him I would not give him a buckamfeen for it. He faid I was a great infidel then, and afked me if all the Americans were fo impious, kiffed the toy, with holy rapture, and put it in his bofom.

January 25.—I faw a man, at the caftle gate, undergo the fhocking operation of having his left hand and right foot amputated. It was performed with an axe, in the fhape of a half moon, and the executioner was one of our keepers. The wretched victim never uttered a word, nor even a groan. The ftumps were dipped in boiling pitch, and he was dragged to the gate, and thrown on the mercy of mankind.

February 3.—"Was conducted to the caftle, to vifit the Bafhaw, whom I found, after paffing feveral fentinels, and fif-

ty fierce, yelping dogs, and three heavy doors, loaded with irons and bolts; which were opened for us by armed Mamelukes." Our men were frequently called before the Bafhaw, both by night and by day, and it is very ftrange that none of them ever faw any thing of thefe yelping dogs. We muft therefore fuppofe, that the Doctor, in this particular, is very much miftaken.

February 16.—Towards evening two veffels were feen ftanding in for the harbour. Our men were much rejoiced at the fight, for they were confident they were Americans, and as the feafon of the year was not favourable for an attack, they flattered themfelves that very probably they had come with propofals of amicable accommodation. The Bafhaw had ordered us a barrel of pork, and another of beef, and all our men appeared more than ordinary cheerful. About 11 o'clock at night, we were alarmed by the fcreeches of women, the clattering of footfteps through the prifon yard, the harfh, loud voices of men, mingled with a thundering of cannon from the caftle, which made our prifon tremble to its bafe. Tumult, confternation, confufion, and difmay reigned in every fection of the town and caftle, and it was verily believed, that if we had been at liberty, and armed, we might with eafe have taken the caftle, and every fort in the town; for the moft of the people in the town fuppofed we had already rifen and taken the caftle, and were afraid to come nigh it. In the confufion of voices we could often hear the word American, and therefore hoped that fome of our countrymen were landing, to liberate us; but the true caufe of fo much clamour, we did not learn until morning.

February 17.—Early in the morning, and much earlier than ufual, our prifon doors were unbolted, and the keepers, like fo many fiends from the infernal regions, rufhed in amongft us, and began to beat every one they could fee, fpitting in our faces, and hiffing like the ferpents of hell. Word was foon brought, that the wreck of the frigate Philadelphia lay on the

rocks, near the round fort, almoſt conſumed by fire. We could not ſuppreſs our emotions, nor diſguiſe our joy at the intelligence, which exaſperated them more and more, ſo that every boy we met in the ſtreets, would ſpit on us and pelt us with ſtones; our tasks were doubled, our bread withheld, and every driver exerciſed cruelties tenfold more rigid and intolerable than before.

Eight Turks had charge of the ſhip; two of them eſcaped, and made the report, that an American ſchooner and three boats ſet fire to the ſhip, and carried the other ſix Turks away. By what we could learn, Captain Decatur, who was commander in this heroic action, had taken ſome Malteſe with him in the boat, and when they were hailed, as they approached the frigate, they anſwered, that they were Malteſe, had been in a gale, and were in want of water. They were permitted to enter the ſhip, when they inſtantly ſecured the hands, all but two, and ſet fire to her.

February 18.—All hands were ſent to get the remains of the frigate from the rocks, under the controul of Mr. Godby, who, to court favour from the Turks, ſtruck ſeveral of our men, and behaved more like one of the Baſhaw's myrmidons, than like an American fellow-priſoner. They did not ſucceed in clearing the wreck, but brought off copper, bolts, ſpikes, &c.

February 19.—A tent was pitched in front of our priſon, and a ſtrong guard kept over us at night, and we received no more beef or pork from the Baſhaw's ſtores. The militia began to collect from the country; they were repairing their ramparts, and making every preparation to repel the expected invaſion.

March 1.—Our officers, with a ſtrong guard, paſſed through our priſon yard, for the caſtle. We were not permitted to exchange words; Captain Bainbridge, however, bid us be of good heart, although he looked very much dejected himſelf.

They were confined in a prifon very dreary, with a grated sky-light.

March 4.—"Captain Bainbridge received a letter from the minifters, repremanding him on account of three men who floated afhore, a few days after burning the frigate. The Turks pretended that they were murthered after they were made prifoners, by the Americans." That mean, deteftable fpirit of revenge, which feeks retaliation on the innocent connexions, or affinity of thofe who have injured us, blackens and disfigures one of the moft confpicuous features in the portrait of a Tripolitan. Every time there was any attack upon the place, or even an American veffel in fight, we were fure to fuffer for it.

March 7.—The Turks got the guns from the wreck of the frigate. They mounted them on their batteries, and in proving them feveral burft—killed one Turk, and wounded four.

March 26.—Early in the morning, fome of our men returned from the beach, and with joy fparkling in their countenances, informed us, that a frigate with American colours was ftanding in for the harbour. About 8 o'clock our joy was increafed by obferving the flag which fhe carried to be a white one. The Bafhaw foon refponded to the fignal, by hoifting a white enfign on the caftle. What a contemptible opinion of the Tripolitans' character muft we form—Yefterday they would ftone us and fpit in our faces, for the burning of the frigate, which we had no hand in deftroying—and to-day they would flatter and carefs us, becaufe there appeared a pacific fignal, which we had no more agency in raifing, than in burning the fhip. As we walked the ftreets, the Turks would pat us on the fhoulder, and fay, American *bono* (good.) About 9 o'clock, Conful O'Brian landed on the beach, and went up into the caftle. In about half an hour he returned, and went on board the frigate. We could not learn the bufinefs or refult of this fhort interview. Various were the reports, and

our conjectures. Some faid, that peace was concluded on, and that the Commodore had gone to Malta, for the money to ranfom us; but when the white flag dropped, with the moft of us, our fpirits flagged; and the frigate departing, bore away the anchor of hope which fhe had brought us.

Our allowance continued the fame—our men, many of them, began to be as naked as the natives of Pellew. A few fhirts and trowfers had been alternately iffued amongft us, but not fufficient for all. We made a moft pitiable appearance. Many of the men had to drag a heavy waggon five or fix miles, over the fand, into the country, and back again, every day, before they had any thing to eat, except fometimes a few raw carrots, which they plundered on the way. We were turned out every morning regularly, before funrife, and locked in at funfet. We were much afflicted with vermin, and not having any clothes to change, the only way we had to keep ourfelves from becoming infufferably filthy, was to go on the beach and ftrip off our fhirts, going naked until we wafhed and dried them, and then our trowfers, in the like manner.

April 15.—We felt the Syroc winds; they are very fultry and fuffocating. The Turks do not walk the ftreets during the prevalence of thefe morbid gales. We now began to grow economical. We found that we could fell our bread in market, for four paras a loaf. Three hundred of thefe paras make a dollar; and with the avails of one loaf, we could purchafe as many vegetables as three men would eat at a meal, made into a foup, with bread and oil. We put ourfelves into meffes, as we chofe, fome of three or four men each, and thus, by fparing two loaves out of our day's rations, we could purchafe carrots and fcallions enough to make a handfome little pot of foup, for thefe vegatables were very cheap. We alfo contributed our mites, and purchafed an earthen veffel, large enough to cook for four men, for about two buckamfeens,

25 paras. We then boiled the vegetables, threw in fome bread to thicken the foup, and added oil and falt. We were allowed to get fome chips from the navy-yard, to cook it with, and when prepared, we eat it fitting on the ground, with wooden fpoons. By this management we began to live rather more comfortable. There are alfo little fhops in the market, in which they keep *tirfha* for fale; which is made of either carrots or turnips, cut into fmall pieces, and boiled; then mafhed with a ladle, and beat with falt and water until it becomes pulpous; to which are added red pepper, pulverized and mixed with water, and a meafure of oil—a lemon is fqueezed into it, and over the top are ftrewed fennel feed. It is of the confiftence of apple-fauce, and fo ftrong of pepper, that it is quite difagreeable at firft, but by frequent ufe it foon becomes palateable. This is a cheap and falubrious difh; of which the poorer fort of people eat much, and you will fee thofe little hovels of fhops almoft conftantly crouded with Turks, fitting on a gronnd-floor, and with their fingers load their greedy mouths. The Bafhaw, to excite them to induftry, occafionally called the carpenters, the mafons, the coopers, and the blackfmiths into the caftle, and diftributed amongft them a few buckamfeens. Thofe who dragged at the cart were fometimes encouraged with the like gratuity.

April 24.—Departed this life, John Morrifon, in the 27th year of his age. He was an able and skilful mariner, captain of the fore-top, on board the frigate, and fupported the character of a true and brave American tar. His death was occafioned by a hurt which he received, in affifting to load a large piece of timber on the waggon, about two miles from the town. He was brought in on a litter, by four men, and lay three days in the moft excruciating pain. The night previous to his death, Doctor Ridgby was permitted to vifit him, in company with Lewis Hexiner, who was one of our crew, transformed into a Turk, and now acted as interpreter to our officers. An old Algerine, who was one of our drivers, came

in to fee him, while he was dying, and infifted that nothing ailed him; but that he was fhamming ficknefs, to avoid labour. He went to the dying man, told him to rife, called him an infidel and a dog, and ftruck him feveral times with his cane. How our men burned to immolate the ferocious villain. He was interred the following day, by the fide of his late fhipmates. Part of the American fleet was now in fight, and as has been obferved, the unreafonable Turks always made this a pretext for doubling their feverity. Our fpirits, however, were cheered at the fight, and hope again returned, to cheer our defponding bofoms, till, on the 26th, the fquadron difappeared. We now began to abandon all hopes of releafe by negociations of peace, and only expected, from the force of arms, carnage and emancipation.

May 11.—The fquadron again appeared. The Turks were in great trepidation, and expected an attack. They fent us to carry powder and balls, from the caftle to their forts, and beat us without mercy. I was now taken fick, with a bilious complaint.

May 16.—Ten of our officers were permitted to walk into the country. They paffed feveral of our men, at a cart, and fcattered them fome buckamfeens.

May 20.—" A party of us, under efcort of four Turks, walked to the defert, about four miles from our prifon. We afcended a large bank of fand, where we had an extenfive view of the country. The deferts have a fingular and grand appearance. They extend to mount Atlas, which we could fee at a diftance of two days' journey. The fand is in heaps, like fnow-drifts in our country. There was not a houfe nor any other object to be feen to intercept the fight, but it appeared like an ocean of fand." The fap of the date-tree, which they call lagby, now began to be plenty in the market and elfewhere. It is of a whitifh colour, like whey, and as it comes from the tree has the fpirit of wine. It taftes fome-

thing like mead, and can be bought for about three cents a quart.

May 27.—Doctor Ridgby paid a vifit to our fick, and informed me that Captain Bainbridge had exerted his influence with the prime minifter, and had procured me an exemption from labour. He called the keepers and told them that it was the Bafhaw's orders not to fend me to work any more while I was a prifoner. As I never had been much accuftomed to, nor was I remarkably fond of labour, efpecially among the Turks, thefe were glad tidings of great joy.

May 28.—A number of our men were employed in cleaning and fitting up a prifon for us in a different part of the town.

May 29.—"A party of us, under efcort as before, took a walk into the defert. On our return, we dined in the Bafhaw's garden, under the fhade of orange trees. The dinner was prepared in the Turkifh ftyle, and we ate with wooden fpoons —it was fimple and good." Two of our brigs were lying off the harbour, and in confequence, as ufual, we had fevere treatment.

June 10.—We were ordered to remove to our newly prepared prifon, which was adjoining the wall at the eaftern part of the town. We found it much more ftrong, fpacious and cleanly than the other, but the yard was much fmaller. About one hundred of the Neapolitan flaves were confined with us, making upwards of three hundred and fifty of us in one apartment. Our fick were kept in a feparate cell, at one end of the yard, the wall of which was very high, and at the entrance was a gate of enormous weight and ftrength. Within the gate was a guard-houfe, where a dozen armed Turks kept fentry every night, and the keepers, or drivers, in the day time. There was a guard alfo on the top of the prifon. This day our weekly rations, from the captain, was difcontinued.

June 18.—"The Bafhaw's eldeft wife, called the queen, was delivered of her ninth child. She was twenty-three years

of age. It was ſaid to be common to marry at ten." This may be true, but it looks a little like mendacity.

June 27.—Mr. Hodge, our boatſwain, Mr. Fenton, our firſt maſter's mate, and Mr. Douglas, ſail-maker, were taken from their priſon, in the caſtle, to overſee our men in their ſeveral departments. An upper ſtory of a building, occupied by our ſick in the priſon-yard, was fitted for and received them and Mr. Godby.

July 4.—A few of us got permiſſion to go out on the ſands to purchaſe and drink lagby. The benevolent Daniſh Conſul had made me a ſmall preſent to enable me to celebrate the day. We retired to a ſtone-platform, the ruins of an ancient reſervoir, under the cooling ſhade of a luxurient orange-tree, open to the refreſhing breezes of the ſea. Here we ſat and regaled ourſelves with this delicious beverage until we almoſt forgot that we, who were offering a libation to the birth day of liberty, were ourſelves but wretched ſlaves. Towards ſunſet, three or four of our ſquadron appeared in ſight, and we returned to our gloomy priſon with ſeveral jugs of this wholeſome and cheering liquor.

July 15.—The moſt of our men were employed in carrying furniture and baggage from the caſtle to the Baſhaw's ſeat in the country, about two miles diſtant. At night the Baſhaw and his family left the caſtle and went thither.

July 25.—The Conſtitution, Commodore Preble, appeared again off the harbour. Every preparation of defence was now making by the Turks with the utmoſt diſpatch. The American ſquadron now conſiſted of the frigate Conſtitution, brigs Syren, Argus and Vixen; ſchooners Nautilus, Enterprize and Scourge, two bombs and ſix gun-boats. The whole number of men 1060. The bomb veſſels were about thirty tons, and carried a thirteen inch braſs ſea mortar and fifty men. The gun-boats twenty-five tons, carried a large iron twenty-four pounder in the bow, with a complement of twenty-five men. They were officered and manned from the ſquadron, except-

ing twelve Neapolitan bombardiers, gunners and ſailors attached to each boat; who were ſhipped by permiſſion of their government. The bomb-veſſels and gun-boats were loaned us by his Sicilian majeſty, nearly one hundred and fifty of whoſe men were ſlaves in Tripoli. The commodore now proceeded to make the neceſſary arrangements for an attack on Tripoli as ſoon as the weather would permit. Tripoli was impregnably walled, protected by batteries judiciouſly conſtructed, mounting one hundred and fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and defended by more than twenty-five thouſand Arabs and Turks. The harbour was protected by nineteen gun-boats, two gallies, two ſchooners of eight guns each, and a brig mounting ten guns, all ranged in order of battle, forming a ſtrong line of defence, at ſecured moorings, inſide a long range of rocks and ſhoals, extending more than two miles to the eaſtward of the town, which forms the harbour, protects them from the northern gales, and renders it impoſſible for a veſſel, of the Conſtitution's draft, to approach near enough to deſtroy them, as they are ſheltered by the rocks, and can retire under that ſhelter to the ſhore, unleſs they chooſe to expoſe themſelves in the different channels and openings of the reefs, for the purpoſe of annoying their enemies. Each of theſe gun-boats mounts a heavy eighteen or twenty-ſix pounder in the bow, and two braſs howitzers on her quarters, and carries from thirty-ſix to fifty men. The gallies have each one hundred men; ſchooners and brigs about the ſame number. For ſeveral days the weather was very boiſterous, and the gun-boats were in great danger of being loſt.

Auguſt 1.—The gale ſubſided, and the ſquadron ſtood towards the coaſt; every preparation was made for an attack on the town and forts.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER X.

COMMODORE PREBLE'S ENGAGEMENT WITH THE TRIPOLITANS.

No more of TRUXTON: PREBLE all outbraves—
A greater hero never rode the waves:
Round the drear coast his squadron's wings are spread,
And hungry billows crave the future dead.

AUGUST 3.—The wind eaſt, pleaſant weather, and the ſquadron ſtood in towards Tripoli. About 12 o'clock, the ſquadron was within two or three miles of the batteries. Some of our men, who had been at work on the fortifications, came running in, and informed us that the whole coaſt was lined with our ſhipping. The whole town was in an uproar, every Turk had his muſket and other weapons, and wild diſorder rang through every arch. We were all locked into the priſon, and a formidable guard ſet over us. Their batteries were all manned, and ſeveral of their gun-boats and gallies had advanced in two diviſions without the rocks. The commodore, obſerving this, was reſolved to take advantage of their temerity. At half paſt 12 o'clock the commodore bore off, and made a ſignal to come within hail, when he communicated to each of the commanders his intention of attacking the enemy's ſhipping and batteries. The gun and mortar boats were immediately manned and prepared to caſt off. The gun-boats in two diviſions of three each. The firſt diviſion commanded by Captain Somers, in No. 1; Lieutenant Decatur, in No. 2; and Lieutenant Blake, in No. 3. The ſecond diviſion by Captain Decatur, in No. 4; Lieutenant Bainbridge, in No. 5; and Lieutenant Tripp, in No. 6. The two bombards were commanded by Lieutenant-commandant Dent, and Mr. Rob-

infon, firft lieutenant of the Conftitution. At half paft one o'clock, having made the neceffary arrangements for the attack, the commodore wore fhip, and ftood towards the batteries. At two, fignals were made to caft off the boats; at a quarter paft two fignal for the bombs and gun-boats to advance and attack the enemy; at half paft two general fignal for battle; at three quarters paft two the boats commenced the action by throwing fhells into the town. In an inftant the enemy's fhipping and batteries opened a tremendous fire, which was promptly returned by the whole fquadron within grape fhot diftance; at the fame time the fecond divifion of gun-boats, led by the gallant Captain Decatur, was advancing with fails and oars to board the eaftern divifion of the enemy, confifting of nine boats. Our boats gave the enemy fhowers of grape and mufket balls as they advanced; they, however, foon clofed, when the piftol, fabre, pike and tommahawk were made good ufe of by our brave tars. Captain Somers being in a dull failer made the beft ufe of his fweeps, but was not able to fetch far enough to the windward to engage the fame divifion of the enemy's boats which Captain Decatur fell in with; he, however, gallantly bore down with his fingle boat on five of the enemy's weftern divifion, and engaged within piftol fhot, defeated and drove them within the rocks in a fhattered condition, and with the lofs of a great number of men. Lieutenant Decatur, in No. 2, was clofely engaged with one of the enemy's largeft boats, which ftruck to him, having loft a large proportion of men, and at the inftant that brave officer was boarding her to take poffeffion, he was treacheroufly fhot through the head by the captain of the boat that had furrendered, which bafe conduct enabled the paltroon to efcape.

Captain Decatur, after having, with diftinguifhed bravery, boarded and carried one of the enemy of fuperiour force, took his prize in tow, and gallantly bore down to engage a fecond, which, after a fevere and bloody conflict, he alfo took poffef-

ſion of. Theſe two prizes had thirty-three officers and men killed, and twenty-ſeven made priſoners, nineteen of whom were badly wounded. Lieutenant Trippe, of the Vixen, in No. 6, run along ſide one of the enemy's large boats, which he boarded with only midſhipman John Hinly, and nine men, his boat falling off before any more could get on board; thus was he left to conquer or periſh with the odds of thirty-ſix to eleven. The Turks could not withſtand the ardour of this brave officer and his aſſiſtants; in a few moments the decks were cleared and her colours hauled down. On board of this boat, fourteen of the enemy were killed, and twenty-two made priſoners, ſeveral of whom were badly wounded; the reſt of their boats retreated within the rocks. Lieut. Trippe received eleven ſabre wounds, ſeveral of which were very ſevere.

During the action, our men were taken out of the priſon ſeveral times to carry powder and ſhot from the magazine in the caſtle to the forts, and were almoſt beaten to death—ſtoned and cudgeled by every Turk in the ſtreets.

At half paſt four, the wind inclining to the northward, the commodore made a ſignal for the bombs and gun-boats to retire from action, and immediately after to tow off the gun-boats and prizes; which was handſomely executed by the brigs, ſchooners and boats of the ſquadron, covered by a heavy fire from the Conſtitution, which was two hours under the fire of the enemy's batteries, and the only damage which ſhe received was a twenty-four pound ſhot nearly through the centre of her mainmaſt, thirty feet from the deck; main-royal-yard and ſail ſhot away; one of her quarter deck guns damaged by a thirty-two pound ſhot, which, at the ſame time, ſhattered a marine's arm; ſails and rigging conſiderably cut. The commodore imputed his getting off thus well to his keeping ſo near that the batteries overſhot him, and to the annoyance our grape-ſhot gave the enemy. They are, however, wretch-

ed gunners. Lieutenant Decatur was the only officer killed; but in him the ſervice has loſt a brave and valuable officer.—He was a young man who gave ſtrong promiſes of being an ornament to his profeſſion. His conduct in the action was highly honourable—and he died in a noble cauſe. The enemy ſuffered very much in killed and wounded among their ſhipping, but as few of the ſhells burſt on ſhore, not ſo great execution was done as might be expected, or as has been reported. This was, undoubtedly, owing to unſkilful bombardiers. The officers, ſeamen and marines of the ſquadron behaved in the moſt gallant manner. The Neapolitans, in emulating the conduct of our ſeamen, anſwered the commodore's higheſt expectations. All the officers and ſhip's company of the Conſtitution gave full ſatisfaction. The commodore was much gratified by the conduct of Captain Hall, and Lieutenant Greenleaf, and of the marines belonging to his company, in the management of ſix long twenty-ſix pounders on the ſpare deck. Captain Decatur ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the conduct of Lieutenant Thorn. The boat which was firſt boarded by Captain Decatur was obſtinately defended, and was not ſurrendered until ſeven-eighths of her crew were killed or wounded. Having manned his prize, and being left with only nine Americans beſides himſelf, he determined to board another boat. Being only ten Americans to twenty-four Turks, a ſcene of combat enſued of the moſt daring effort on the one part, and determined reſiſtance on the other. The Turks made a powerful defence, and were not ſubdued until twenty-one of them had fallen. Captain Decatur was, at different times, moſt critically circumſtanced. At one time, while engaged with the Tripolitan captain in front, a Turk, in his rear, aimed a blow with a ſabre, which one of the ſeamen moſt nobly interpoſed to defend, and which ſplit his ſkull. In a ſubſequent encounter he was engaged by a Turk with a pike, which he endeavoured to cut off with his ſword, when the blade broke and left the hilt in his hand, and he

then received a thruſt in his arm. Not having time to draw a piſtol until the thruſt would be repeated, he cloſed with his antagoniſt, who, being the ſtrongeſt man, threw him, but his activity placed him above his adverſary, who drew his dagger, as Captain Decatur did his piſtol which prevailed. The liſt of killed and wounded is as follows.—

Killed—Gun-boat No. 2, Lieut. James Decatur.

Wounded—Conſtitution, one marine.

Do. Gun-boat No. 4, Captain Decatur, ſlightly—one ſerjeant of marines, and two ſeamen.

Do. Gun-boat No. 6, Lieutenant Trippe, ſeverely—one boatſwain's mate, and two marines.

Do. Gun-boat No. 1, two ſeamen.

Do. Gun-boat No. 2, two ſeamen.

Total—one killed and thirteen wounded.

The number of killed and wounded among the Turks cannot be aſcertained; it is thought, however, to be very conſiderable. Three of their gun-boats were ſunk in the harbour and three captured. Two Turks ſwam aſhore and came to the Baſhaw, who gave them a few dollars and a ſuit of clothes.

Auguſt 4.—All our men were employed in repairing damages done to the forts, and in carrying powder and ſhot to repleniſh them. The infuriate Turks, wherever we met them, would ſtrike, ſpit upon and ſtone us. From the circumſtance of our giving up the Philadelphia to one gun-boat, without bloodſhed, they had, until now, entertained an opinion that the Americans were all cowards, but they now were impreſſed with a full conviction of the ſkill and bravery of our tars. The Turks told us that the Americans were all drunk, or they would not have ventured as they did, and fought ſo furiouſly

Auguſt 5.—The ſquadron was at anchor about two leagues north from the town. A French privateer of four guns, which put into Tripoli a few days ſince for water, left it this morn-

ing, and was chafed by the Argus, which foon came up with her. The commodore prevailed on the captain of her, for a confideration, to return to Tripoli for the purpofe of leaving fourteen very badly wounded Tripolitans, who were put on board his veffel with a letter to the prime minifter, leaving it to the option of the Bafhaw to reciprocate this generous mode of carrying on the war. This act of humanity had but little effect on the minds of thefe barbarians, for they did not abate their cruelties to us in confequence of it.

Auguft 7.—The French privateer went out and carried a letter from the French Conful to the Commodore, ftating that his attack, of the 3d inftant, had difpofed the Bafhaw to accept of reafonable terms, and advifing him to fend a boat to the rocks with a flag of truce, which was declined, as the flag was not hoifted on the Bafhaw's caftle. At nine o'clock, the light veffels, the gun and bomb-boats were ordered by fignal to caft off, and ftand in towards the weftern batteries, and the whole advanced with fails and oars. A light breeze from the eaftward, and a ftrong current, obliged the Conftitution to remain at anchor. The orders were for the bombs to take a pofition in a fmall bay, to the weftward of the city, where but a few of the enemy's guns could be brought to bear upon them; but from whence they could annoy the town with fhells. At half paft two, P. M. the bomb and gun-boats having reached their ftation, the fignal was made for them to attack the town and batteries. After the alarm gun of Tripoli was fired, the Turks all took their ftations and performed Mahometan ceremony of prayer, by kneeling and putting their foreheads to the ground, with their faces towards the eaft, with as much regularity as a well difciplined military company grounding their arms. The moment the fignal was made by the commodore, the bombs commenced throwing fhells into the town, and the gun-boats opened a fharp and well-directed fire on the town and batteries within point blank fhot, which was warmly returned by the enemy. The feven gun battery,

in leſs than two hours, was ſilenced, except one gun. The walls of the other forts were conſiderably injured. At a quarter paſt three, P. M. a ſhip hove in ſight to the northward ſtanding towards the town. The commodore made the Argus a ſignal to chaſe her. She proved to be the United States frigate John Adams, Captain Chauncey. At half paſt three, one of our gun-boats was blown up by a hot ſhot from the enemy, which paſſed through her magazine. She had on board twenty-eight officers, ſeamen and marines, ten of whom were killed and ſix wounded. Among the killed was John S. Dorſey, midſhipman, and James R. Caldwell, firſt lieut. of the Syren; both excellent officers. Midſhipman Spence, and eleven men were taken up unhurt. Capt. Decatur, whoſe diviſion this boat belonged to, and who was near her at the time ſhe blew up, informed the Commodore, that Mr. Spence was ſuperintending the loading of the gun at that moment, and, notwithſtanding the boat was ſinking, he and the brave men ſurviving finiſhed charging, gave three cheers as the boat went from under them, and ſwam to the neareſt boats, where they aſſiſted during the remainder of the action.

The father of Mr. Spence was purſer of the Philidelphia, and one of the American priſoners in Tripoli. All the officers and men behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity. Forty-eight ſhells, and above 500 twenty-four pound ſhot were thrown into the town and batteries.

"The Baſhaw has a bomb-proof room in the caſtle, where he ſtaid during the action. On hearing the exploſion of our gun-boat, he ventured to take a peep, with the precaution of having a Marabewt or prieſt ſeal a ſmall piece of paper on the top of his head, with a Turkiſh or Mahometan ſcrawl, with aſſurances that it would entirely ſecure him from all danger; but he ſoon returned to his cell. The Turks all wear a paper of this kind, ſewed up in a lirtle velvet bag, with aſſurances from the Marabewt, that it will protect them in the greateſt

danger. The Marabewt gets a ſum of money for theſe bleſſings. If a Turk gets wounded, or killed, it is ſuppoſed the bleſſed paper is too old, or not placed in a proper manner.—In the time of action, theſe Marabewts get upon ſome ſecure place, and cry to Mahomet, in the moſt diſmal yells, to let them conquer their enemies, or beckon to the veſſels to run aſhore or be deſtroyed." In this action twelve men were killed and ſix wounded, two of whom mortally.

Auguſt 9.—The commodore went on board the Argus in order to reconnoitre the harbour of Tripoli; he ſtood in towards the town, and was very near being ſunk by the enemy's fire. One of their heavieſt ſhot, which ſtruck about three feet ſhort of her water line, raked the copper off her bottom under water, and cut the plank half through. This day a number of our men fainted and dropped beneath the weight they were compelled to ſuſtain, and they were brought half dead to the priſon. In the evening we petitioned the Baſhaw in the following words.—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GRAND BASHAW OF TRIPOLI.

The petition of the American priſoners humbly ſheweth:

That your humble petitioners, when doing, with all their power, as they are commanded, are moſt cruelly beaten by our wardens, ſtoned, inſulted and ſpit upon by the ſoldiers and others; required to carry burthens impoſſible for them to ſuſtain; and chafed and beaten until we are or ſoon ſhall be unable to labour at all. From the many acts of juſtice, kindneſs and generoſity we have experienced from your Excellency, we cannot ſuppoſe that ſuch conduct is authoriſed by your command; or that we ſhould be puniſhed for what is out of our power to perform, or for the actions of others which we have no agency in, and which we cannot prevent. Returning your Excellency our ſincere and humble thanks for your boun-

ty and privileges heretofore ſhewn, and relying on your goodneſs for protection; we therefore moſt humbly pray, that your Excellency would interpoſe your royal authority, and grant us ſpeedy relief. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will remain your Excellency's moſt humble, faithful and obedient ſervants.

On the petition being explained to the Baaſhaw, by Hexime, or Hamet American, his new name, the Baſhaw forbid the Turks ſtriking us; but his orders were inſincere and illuſive, for the very next day he ſtood by and ſaw ſeveral of us ſeverely beaten innocently, without the leaſt apparent diſſatisfaction.

Auguſt 10.—At ten o'clock in the forenoon, the French Conſul hoiſted a white flag, at his flag-ſtaff, under the national colours, which was a ſignal that the Baſhaw was ready to treat. The commodore ſent a boat into the harbour, and took this opportunity to forward to Captain Bainbridge letters from three friends. The boat was not allowed to land, but returned in the afternoon, and brought the commodore a letter from the French conſul, adviſing that the Baſhaw was ready to receive five hundred dollars for the ranſom of each of the priſoners, and terminate the war without any conſideration for peace or tribute. This was 350 thouſand dollars leſs than was demanded previous to the action of the 3d inſt. Theſe terms the commodore did not heſitate to reject, as he was informed by Captain Chauncy, that it was the expectation of our government, on the arrival of four frigates, to obtain the releaſe of the officers and crew of the Philadelphia without ranſom, and dictate the terms of peace. This is the commodore's ſtatement reſpecting the truce which, no doubt, is a correct one; and if it is, what a monſtrous blunder has the Doctor again committed. He ſays at this ſame time, "Our ſquadron hoiſted a flag of truce, ſent in a brig and ſchooner, and fired a gun. The Baſhaw did not, and ſwore he would not anſwer it; and ſaid he would not treat with Commodore

Preble. A truce, however, was afterwards held. Conſul O'Brian wiſhed to come on ſhore, but was refuſed." And again he ſays,

Auguſt 13.—"Another truce was held, when the Baſhaw demanded one million of dollars for our ranſom. One hundred and twenty thouſand dollars were offered and refuſed." Here is a wide difference between the Com.'s and the Doctor's ſtatement. The Doctor has only given his patient, the public, too large a doſe of exaggeration; which has proved the fatal bane of unbelief.

Auguſt 17.—Fifteen dead Americans were found drifted aſhore on the beach, weſtward of the town. By an epaulette on his ſhoulder, one of them was known to be a lieutenant. Doctor Cowdery aſked permiſſion of the Baſhaw to go with ſome of our men and bury them. He promiſed they ſhould be buried the next day. The inhabitants had chiefly moved out of the town for fear of another bombardment; and the Baſhaw ate, drank and ſlept in his bomb proof room. The beach was covered with a deſpicable multitude of horſe and foot ſoldiers, with ruſty muſkets without locks, and fired with a match. They were half naked, meagre and totally undiſciplined.

Auguſt 18.—We were not permitted to bury our dead, according to the Baſhaw's promiſe. At night our ſquadron ſtood to ſea.——Aug. 19.—Mr. Church, whom we called the Engliſh merchant, was ſhot through the head, in the ſtreets, as he was returning, at night, to his lodgings.

Auguſt 20.—The ketch Intrepid arrived from Syracuſe, with freſh proviſions and vegetables for our ſquadron. Capt. Chauncy had brought word to the commodore that Commodore Barron was to ſail for the Mediterranean four days after his departure; and, in conſequence of this information, Commodore Preble expected him every moment, and was waiting for his arrival to make another attack, which he believed would be final and effectual. He had diſpatched the Enterprize to Malta with orders, to our agent there, to hire tranſports to bring our ſquadron freſh proviſions, water and other ſtores.—

On the 22d ſhe returned, but brought no intelligence of the long expected frigates. A ſhip arrived from Malta, the ſame day, with live ſtock and water for the ſquadron.

Auguſt 24.—"In the morning, about two o'clock, and at day light, two of our ſmall veſſels hove about thirty ſhells, as was ſuppoſed, for the round fort, but they fell ſhort of the mark. Such attempts ſerve rather to encourage than intimidate the Tripolitans, and the Baſhaw was in high ſpirits on the occaſion."

Auguſt 26.—The fellow who murthered Mr. Church was executed in the afternoon, on the ground where the act was perpetrated. It had hitherto been the cuſtom, in this country, when a perſon had committed murder, to fly to the tomb of a Marabewt, where they were protected from juſtice, and a fee to the Marabewt would procure them abſolution.—This fellow fled to a place of this kind immediately after killing Mr. Church. The Engliſh Conſul, Mr. Langford, on being informed of the murder, addreſſed the Baſhaw and demanded juſtice. The Baſhaw then found out by a boy, who accompanied the murderer when he committed the crime, the particulars of the affair, and immediately ſent a file of men and ordered them to prevent any one from carrying food or drink to the murderer. They watched him until night, when the Baſhaw ſent his Marabewt, who coaxed him away and brought him to the caſtle and confined him in irons. The next day the Baſhaw called his Divan, when it was decided the perſon was guilty of wilful murther, and ſhould ſuffer death. It appeared by the evidence and confeſſion of the priſoner, that Mr. Church had lent a ſum of money to the Spaniſh maſter-carpenter in this place; that Church had preſſed him for payment, and that the carpenter's wife had hired the Turk to kill him, for forty dollars. The boy who accompanied him was baſtinadoed with five hundred blows.——The carpenter's wife was ordered to leave Tripoli. At three, P. M. the commodore weighed anchor and ſtood in for Tri-

poli. He was employed, until eight, P. M. in making arrangements for attacking the town—all the boats in the squadron were officered and manned and attached to the gun-boats. The two bomb vessels could not be brought into action, as one was leaky and the mortar-bed of the other had given way. The John Adams, Scourge, transports and bombs were anchored seven miles to the northward of the town. Captain Chauncy, with several of his officers and about seventy seamen and marines, had volunteered their services on board the Constitution. At one, A. M. the gun-boats, in two divisions, led by Captains Decatur and Somers, were ordered to advance and take their stations close to the rocks, at the entrance of the harbour, within grape-shot distance of the Bashaw's castle. The Syren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus, Enterprize and boats of the squadron, accompanied them. At three, A. M. the boats anchored with springs on, within pistol shot of the rocks, and commenced a brisk firing on the shipping, town, batteries, and Bashaw's castle, which was warmly returned, but not as well directed. At day-light, perceiving that the gun-boats had nearly expended their ammunition, the commodore weighed with the Constitution and stood in for the harbour; Fort English, the Bashaw's castle, crown and mole batteries, kept up a constant fire as he advanced. At half past five, the commodore made a signal for the gun-boats to retire from action, and for the brigs and schooners to take them in tow. The Constitution was then within two cables length of the rocks, and commenced a heavy fire of round and grape on thirteen of the enemy's gun-boats and gallies which were in pretty close action with our boats. They sunk one of the enemy's boats, and at the same time two more, disabled, run in on shore to avoid sinking. The remainder immediately retreated. The commodore continued running in until he was within musket shot of the crown and mole batteries, when he brought to, and fired upwards of 300 round shot, beside grape and cannister, into the town, Bashaw's castle and bat-

teries. He ſilenced the caſtle, and two of the batteries, for ſome time. At a quarter paſt ſix, the gun-boats being all out of ſhot and in tow, the commodore hauled off, after having been three quarters of an hour in cloſe action. The gun-boats fired upwards of four hundred round ſhot, beſide grape and canniſter. A large Tuniſian galliot was ſunk in the mole; a Spaniſh ſhip had entered with an ambaſſador from the Grand Seignior, and received conſiderable damage. The Tripolitan gallies and gun-boats loſt many men and were much cut. Captains Decatur and Somers conducted their diviſions with their uſual firmneſs and addreſs, and were well ſupported by the officers and men attached to them. The brigs and ſchooners ſuffered conſiderably in their ſails and rigging. The damage which the Conſtitution received was principally above the hull; three lower ſhrouds, two ſpring ſtays, two top-maſt back-ſtays, truſſes, chains and lifts of the main yard ſhot away. Her ſails had ſeveral cannon ſhot through them, and beſides were conſiderably cut by grape; much of her running rigging cut to pieces; one of her anchor ſtocks and larboard cable ſhot away, and a number of grape ſhots were ſticking in different parts of her hull, but not a man hurt!

The hero's life a miracle shall save,
For partial fortune will protect the brave
Through many dangers; but, when e'er they fall,
'Tis heaven in mercy that directs the ball.

A boat belonging to the John Adams, with a maſter's mate (Mr. Creighton) and eight ſeamen, was ſunk by a double-headed ſhot from the batteries, while in tow of the Nautilus, which killed three men, and badly wounded one, who, with Mr. C. and the other four, was picked up by one of our boats. The only damage our gun-boats ſuſtained was in their rigging and ſails, which were conſiderably cut by the enemy's round and grape ſhot.

Auguft 30.—Doctor Cowdery "took a ride upon a mule, about 8 miles to the weftward of the town, in company with Hamet, a Turkifh officer, and feveral footmen." Here they faw a boat which had drifted on fhore, with a dead man, and feveral muskets and fwords in it. The man appeared to have been fhot through the body with a cannon ball, which had alfo pierced the bottom of the boat. The Turkifh officer collected about twenty Arabs, who hauled the boat up the beach, dragging the dead man out of it, ftripped him entirely naked, and left him on the beach. They were fcattered on the fhore for miles, and were torn to pieces by dogs.

Auguft 31.—A veffel arrived from Malta, with provifions and ftores for our fquadron, but brought no news of Commodore Barron or his frigates.

September 2.—The bomb veffels having been repaired, and ready for fervice, Lieutenants Dent and Robinfon refumed the command of them. Lieut. Morris, of the Argus, took command of No. 3, and Lieut. Trippe having nearly recovered of his wounds, refumed the command of No. 6, which he fo gallantly conducted on the 3d ult. Capt. Chauncy, with feveral young gentlemen, and fixty men, from the John Adams, volunteered on board the Conftitution. At 4, P. M. the Commodore made fignal to weigh—kept under fail all night. At 11, P. M. general fignal to prepare for battle. A Spanifh Polacre, in ballaft, went out of the harbour to the Commodore, with an Ambaffador from the Grand Seignior on board; who had been fent from Conftantinople to Tripoli, to confirm the Bafhaw in his title. This ceremony takes place in the Barbary regencies every five years. The Captain of the veffel informed the Commodore, that the fhot and fhells made great havoc and deftruction in the city, and that a vaft number of the people had been killed; but his accounts were much exaggerated, for very few of the fhells burft, and confequently did no great injury.

The weekly allowance of meat and vegetables, which we received from the Daniſh Conſul, by order of Captain Bainbridge, had been diſcontinued ever ſince the 10th of June, as has been noticed, and in conſequence of ſeveral petitions made to Capt. Bainbridge, ſtating, that it was almoſt impoſſible for the men to exiſt, under the ſeverity of treatment, and increaſed labour to which we were doomed, ſince the invaſions of Commodore Preble, we received from the Daniſh Conſul, by order of Capt. Bainbridge, one pound of beef per man, with vegetables for ſoups, and one loaf of wheat bread, in addition to the Baſhaw's allowance. The meat and vegetables we were to receive only twice a week, the bread every day. As I was exempt from labour, the task of ſuperintending the drawing and dividing of the proviſions was enjoined on me. There had been much diſſatisfaction and murmuring among the men, reſpecting the diviſion of their late rations, and as every ounce of meat, to men half ſtarving, was conſidered of the greateſt value and importance, to prevent any juſt complaints, by giving every one his exact dividend, I claſſed the men into meſſes of eight, and made them chooſe their meſsmates; then numbered the meſſes, as on board the ſhip. The meat was then cut up by two of the petty officers, and divided into as many heaps as there were meſſes, and particular care was taken that each heap ſhould be alike in quality. Each lot was then exactly weighed, and made equivalent. Our vegetables were pumpkins, turnips, and ſcallions, which were as exactly divided as the meat, and in the ſame manner. As many numbers as there were meſſes, were then made of paper, and ſtuck on the meat, and in like manner to the vegetables. Another ſet of numbers was made, put into a hat, and ſhook together. The number of the meſſes being called, one by one, whatever ticket each one drew, entitled him to a correſponding number of meat and vegetables. This was a lottery without any blanks, and a method that prevented any more complaints.

The bread was eafily divided. This was a great alleviation to our hunger-pained breafts. But to return to our fquadron.

September 3.—At half paft two, P. M. the fignals were made for the gun-boats to caft off, advance, and attack the enemy's gun-boats and gallies, which were all under weigh in the eaftern part of the harbour, whither they had been, for fome time, working up againft the wind. This was certainly a judicious movement of theirs, as it precluded the poffibility of our boats going down to attack the town, without having the enemy's flotilla in the rear, and directly to windward. The Commodore accordingly ordered the bomb veffels to run down within proper diftance of the town, and bombard it, while our gun-boats were to engage the enemy's gallies and boats to windward. At half paft 3, P. M. our boats having gained their ftations, to which they were directed, commenced throwing fhells into the city. At the fame time, our gun-boats opened a brisk fire on the gallies, and within point-blank fhot, which was warmly returned by them and fort Englifh, and by a new battery, a little weftward; but as foon as our boats arrived within good musket fhot of their gallies and boats, they gave way, and retired to the fhore, within the rocks, and under cover of musketry from fort Englifh. They were followed by our boats, and by the Syren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus, and Enterprize, as far as the reef would permit them to go with prudence. The action was then divided; one divifion of our boats, with the brigs and fchooners, attacked fort Englifh, whilft the other was engaged with the enemy's gallies and boats. The Bafhaw's caftle, the Mole, Crown, and feveral other batteries, kept up a conftant fire on our bomb veffels, which were well conducted, and threw fhells briskly into the town; but, from their fituation, they were very much expofed, and in great danger of being funk. To prevent which, the Commodore ran within them with the Conftitution, to draw off the enemy's attention, and amufe them whilft

the bombardment was kept up. The Commodore brought to, within reach of grape, and fired eleven broadfides into the Bafhaw's caftle, town, and batteries, in a fituation where more than feventy guns could bear upon him. One of the batteries were filenced. The town, caftle, and other batteries confiderably damaged. By this time it was half paft four o'clock. The wind was increafing, and inclining rapidly to the northward; the Commodore made a fignal for the boats to retire from action, and for the brigs and fchooners to take them in tow, and foon after hauled off, with the Conftitution, to repair damages. Our gun-boats were an hour and fifteen minutes in action. They difabled feveral of the enemies gallies and boats, and confiderably damaged Fort-Englifh. Moft of our boats received damage in their rigging and fails. About 50 fhells were thrown into the town, and our boats fired 400 round fhot, befides grape and canifter. They were led into action by Captains Decatur and Somers, with their ufual gallantry.

It is very unaccountable, that among fo many fhells as were thrown into the town, fo few of them burft. It muft have been owing to want of skill, and not treachery in the bombardiers. The Bafhaw gave a bounty for every fhell that his people brought to him, and they were found in plenty. A large number went directly over our prifon, and fell innoxious in the fand. Three or four fhot ftruck our prifon, but did no damage of confequence.

It muft be remembered, that moft of the foregoing account of Commodore Preble's operations, is taken from his letter to the Secretary of the Navy, and nearly in his own words. The Commodore further fays—"Defirous of annoying the enemy, by all the means in my power, I directed to be put in execution a long-contemplated plan of fending a fire-fhip, or infernal, into the harbour of Tripoli, in the night, for the purpofe of endeavouring to deftroy the enemy's fhipping, and fhatter the Bafhaw's caftle and town. Captain Somers, of the

Nautilus, having volunteered his ſervice, had, for ſeveral days before this period, been directing the preparation of the ketch Intrepid, aſſiſted by lieutenants Wadſworth and Iſrael. About 100 barrels of powder, and 150 fixed ſhells, were, apparently, judiciouſly diſpoſed of, on board her. The fuſes, leading to the magazine, were calculated to burn a quarter of an hour.

"September 4.—The Intrepid being prepared for the intended ſervice, Captain Somers and Lieutenant Wadſworth made choice of two of the faſteſt rowing boats in the ſquadron, for bringing them out after reaching their deſtination, and firing the combuſtible materials which were to communicate with the fuzes. Captain Somers' boat was manned with four ſeamen from the Nautilus, and Lieutenant Wadſworth's with ſix from the Conſtitution. Lieut. Iſrael accompanied them.—At eight in the evening the Intrepid was under ſail, and ſtanding for the port, with a leading breeze from the eaſtward. The Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus, convoyed her as far as the rocks. On entering the harbour, ſeveral ſhot were fired at her from the batteries. In a few minutes after, when ſhe had apparently, nearly gained her intended place of deſtination, ſhe ſuddenly exploded, without their having previouſly fired a room, filled with ſplinters and other combuſtibles, which were intended to create a blaze, in order to deter the enemy from boarding whilſt the fire was communicating to the fuzes, which led to the magazine. The effect of the exploſion awed the batteries into profound ſilence, with aſtoniſhment. Not a gun was afterwards fired for the night. The ſhrieks of the inhabitants informed us, that the town was thrown into the greateſt terror and conſternation, by the exploſion of the magazine, and the burſting and falling of ſhells in all directions. The whole ſquadron waited with the utmoſt anxiety, to learn the fate of the adventurers, from a ſignal previouſly agreed upon, in caſe of ſucceſs, but waited in vain; no ſigns of their ſafety were to be obſerved. The Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus,

hovered round the port till ſunriſe, when they had a fair view of the harbour. Not a veſtige of the ketch or the boats were to be ſeen. One of the enemy's largeſt boats was miſſing, and three others were ſeen, very much ſhattered and damaged, which the enemy were hauling on ſhore. From theſe circumſtances I am led to believe, that thoſe boats were detached from the enemy's flotilla, to intercept the ketch, and without ſuppoſing her to be a fire-ſhip, the miſſing boat had ſuddenly boarded her, when the gallant Somers, and heroes of his party, obſerving the other three boats ſurrounding them, and no proſpect of eſcape, deterimined, at once, to prefer death and the deſtruction of the enemy, to captivity and torturing ſlavery, put a match to the train leading directly to the magazine, which, at once, blew the whole into the air, and terminated their exiſtence. My conjectures reſpecting this affair are founded on a reſolution which Captain Somers, Lieutenants Wadſworth and Iſrael had formed, neither to be taken by the enemy, nor ſuffer him to get poſſeſſion of the powder on board the Intrepid. They expected to enter the harbour without diſcovery, but had declared, if they ſhould be diſappointed, and the enemy ſhould board them before they reached the point of deſtination, in ſuch force as to leave no hopes of a ſafe retreat, they would put a match to the magazine, and blow themſelves and their enemies up together; determined, as there was no exchange of priſoners, that their country ſhould never pay ranſom for them, nor the enemy receive a ſupply of powder through their means. The diſappearance of one of the enemy's boats, and the ſhattered condition of three others, confirm me in my opinion, that they were an advanced guard, detached from the main body of the enemy's flotilla, on diſcovering the approach of the Intrepid, and that they attempted to board her before ſhe had reached her point of deſtination, otherwiſe the whole of the ſhipping muſt have ſuffered, and perhaps would have been totally deſtroyed. That ſhe was blown up before ſhe

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had reached her ftation, is certain; by which the fervice has loft three very gallant officers. Captain Somers, and Lieutenants Wadfworth and Ifrael, were officers of confpicuous bravery, talents, and merit. They had uniformly diftinguifhed themfelves in the feveral actions—were beloved and lamented by the whole fquadron."

Far from wifhing or endeavouring to detract from the merits of thofe immortal heroes, who loft their lives in attempting to effectuate our emancipation, a ftrict regard to correct information, as far as it can be traced, induces me to make the following enquiries and remarks:—

I would afk any reafonable perfon, is it probable, that Captain Somers, Lieutenants Wadfworth and Ifrael would have voluntarily facrificed their lives by a premature act? Or, in other words, would they have fired the train had they not been boarded by the enemy, or furrounded in fuch a manner as to banifh all hopes of efcape? And if the enemy had boarded them, would they not have fhared promifcuous deftruction, as has been reported from conjecture? And if the enemy did fuffer, or were thus deftroyed, fhould not we have been informed of it through fome of the means following?—

The Neapolitans, who were fervants to moft of the chief men in Tripoli, who were flaves, and anticipated freedom from our fquadron's fuccefs, who brought us with avidity, every intelligence of our enemy's lofs or defeat; who perfectly underftood the language of the Tripolitans; never gave us any information; and, of courfe, never heard that any of the Turks were deftroyed by the explofion of the infernal. There were many Jews and difaffected Turks, Greeks, and Maltefe, who were ready to communicate to us every unfavourable circumftance of the enemy, and we never heard from them, that any of the Turks perifhed in the explofion. The Chriftian Confuls, and efpecially the Danifh one, who was our particular friend, never informed us that any of the Turks were kill-

ed by the explofion of the fire-fhip. Lewis Hexiner, who had turned Turk, but ferioufly repented of it, and who was promifed, and expected to be given up to us on our liberation, by covertly befriending us, while in full confidence of the Bafhaw and all the Turks, never gave us information of the kind, and of courfe never heard fuch a report amongft the Turks. Doctor Cowdery, who lodged in the fame room with Hexiner, does not mention it in his journal. Is it not, therefore, more than probable, that through all thefe channels of communication, if a circumftance fo extraordinary as the deftruction of one or two hundred Turks, fome information of the event would have reached us? It is therefore very evident, that no Turks were deftroyed; and if none were deftroyed, is it not full as evident, that the train communicated to the magazine fooner than was expected, and that the explofion happened before our men could poffibly avoid a cataftrophe fo much to be lamented? Doctor Cowdery fays, that "The fire-fhip fent in by Commodore Preble, did but little damage, and that the Bafhaw and his people held a thankfgiving to Mahomet on the occafion," which would not have been, had he loft a boat and two hundred men by it. But from whatever circumftance or accident they loft their lives, it is certain that they died meritorioufly, and while valour, patriotifm, and heroic actions, meet with admiration, gratitude and applaufe, the names of Somers, Wadfworth, Ifrael, and their brave companions in death, will live and fhine on the annals of fame, and be regiftered in the catalogue of American martyrs in the caufe of liberty.

The weather continuing to wear a threatening afpect until the 7th of September, and the ammunition being reduced to a quantity not more than fufficient for three veffels to keep up the blockade, no intelligence of the expected reinforcement, and the feafon fo far advanced as to render it imprudent to hazard the gun-boats any longer on the ftation, the Commodore gave orders for the Johh Adams, Syren, Nautilus,

Enterprize, and Scourge, to take the bombs and gun-boats in tow, and proceed to Syracufe with them; the Argus and Vixen to remain with the Conftitution, to keep up the blockade.

This day 14 bodies of Americans, fuppofed to be deftroyed by the explofion of the fire-fhip, were interred by permiffion of the Bafhaw. John M'Donald, who had long been in a decline, departed this, he hoped, for a better life. But turning from fuch gloomy fubjects as death and the grave, let us attend Doctor Cowdery in another of his excurfions.

September 9.—"The Bafhaw took us with him and his fuit to his country feat, where we fpent moft of the day. We went to fee the great Marabewt, in whom the Bafhaw had great faith, and thought he could foretell events. It was thought, by the Turks, that he foretold the ftranding and capture of the Philadelphia, and that he got offended with the Bafhaw, and caufed and foretold her being burnt. He now faid, the Commodore's fhip would never return to America; that fhe would either be blown up, or run on fhore, and that the Bafhaw would have fuccefs in his warfare with America. It appeared, that this great prophet was a fojourner, and that he only came to Tripoli when the Bafhaw was in want of a prophet. He was encamped on the fandy defert, at a tomb of an ancient Marabewt. When we came near him, we all difmounted. The Bafhaw went to him, kneeled before him, and kiffed his hand. The Mamelukes followed the example. The Marabewt then fat down, and was followed by the Bafhaw and fuite, forming a circle on a mat. During this time I ftood by my mule, with my hat in my hand, about five rods from the fcene. I was foon called, and ordered, by the Bafhaw, to take off my fhoes and feel the Marabewt's pulfe. I left my fhoes at the edge of the mat, or holy ground, and ftepped on. I laid my hat on the edge of the mat, in preference to laying it on the fand, but it was immediately taken off. I was then ordered to approach his holinefs and kifs his hand. I felt his pulfe, but before I had time to prefcribe for

him, he put his hand againſt me, and gave me to underſtand, that I muſt go off the holy ground. I immediately ſtepped off, put on my ſhoes, took my hat, and went to my mule. The Baſhaw called me back, and aſked me what I would do for the Marabewt. I recommended bleeding, but the Marabewt ſhook his head, and gave me to underſtand, that he wanted nothing of the kelp (dog.) I was then told to withdraw, which I did, and took a walk around the tomb, which I found to be very ancient. The Baſhaw ſpent about half an hour with the Marabewt, when he kiſſed his hand, and we all returned to the country palace. The Baſhaw apologized for the impoliteneſs of the Marabewt, and ſaid, that they had a fooliſh antipathy to all but Mahometans."

September 10.—The United States ſhip Preſident, Commodore Barron, and Conſtellation, Captain Campbell, hove in ſight, and ſoon joined company, when the command of the ſquadron was ſurrendered to Commodore Barron, with the uſual ceremony. Commodore Preble continued in company with the ſquadron until the 12th, when three ſtrange ſhips hove in ſight, ſtanding directly for Tripoli. Chaſe was given, and two of them boarded and taken poſſeſſion of by the Conſtitution; the Preſident in company, about four leagues from Tripoli, but not more than four miles from land, while the Conſtellation and Argus were in chaſe of the third. The two boarded by the Conſtitution were loaded with about ſixteen thouſand buſhels of wheat. Tripoli was in a ſtate of ſtarvation, and there can be no doubt but thoſe cargoes were meant as a ſupply and relief to our enemies. No farther operations were carried on againſt Tripoli for this ſeaſon.

Commodore Preble left the ſtation and returned to America by the firſt convenient opportunity, where he met with that warm, generous and honourable reception, which our countrymen are ever ready to evince towards thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by valour, patriotiſm and magnanimity.—He left a laſting impreſſion on the mind of the Baſhaw, and

all the barbarians of Tripoli, of American bravery. Such unparalleled heroifm appalled their favage bofoms, and ftruck them with the profoundeft aftonifhment. That a fingle frigate fhould dare venture under the batteries, in the manner that Preble did, they imputed to madnefs, and that fhe ever lived to return was afcribed, by them, to fome fuperiour agency's invifible protection. He was confidered as a prodigy of valour, and dreaded as the minifter of deftruction. He was not an idle, *barren* Commodore. His labours produced effect—he won laurels and bore them.

Refpecting the damage done to the town of Tripoli, various reports have made erroneous ftatements. There was but little damage done to the town, for it is wholly built of incombuftible materials, and they who have reported that the town was fet on fire by the fhells, might as well have informed us that a conflagration of the Mediterranean was effected with a taper. In every attack upon the place we were taken out, at intervals, to carry powder to the different forts, and treated worfe than can be reprefented by words. They would place a barrel of powder on a man's back, and make him run every ftep, without refting, from the caftle to the batteries, three quarters of a mile, with a driver behind him, dealing blows at every breath, amidft the pelting of ftones from the foldiery, and every infult and indignity that could be offered or endured. A great number of fhells and balls went over and fell near our prifon, but none of them did any material damage. One ball went through our cook-houfe, adjoining one end of our prifon—one ftruck the front, obliquely, and fpent its fury without harm, and feveral more glanced over the corners and terrace of it. A ball went through the Danifh conful's obfervatory, the moment he had left it, in the exact direction where he ftood. It is great pity the commodore had not found more fkilful bombardiers, for though they could not fire the houfes, had they all burft, great damage, as well as great confternation, muft have been the refult. Two of the

guns burſt, in the laſt action, and killed two Turks in the caſtle.

Before our ſquadron had left the coaſt, and previous to the laſt engagement, I received a line from one of our officers, mentioning that Lieutenant James Decatur was killed, on the 3d of Auguſt, and requeſting me to write an elegy on his death; which was attempted in the followin ſtrain.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER XI.

ELEGY

On the death of Lieutenant JAMES DECATUR, *who fell August 3d,* 1804, *in an action with the Tripolitan gun-boats.*

THROUGH these drear walls, where fiends horrific reign,
Chill the faint heart and rend the frantic brain!
Where, void of friends, of pleasure, food or rest,
Tormenting slavery preys upon our breast;
From yon thick squadron, whence we hope to hear
The voice of freedom charm the captive's ear,
Sounds the sad tale, DECATUR's name deplore,
For that young hopeful hero breathes no more!
He left, to free us from barbarian chains,
Columbia's blooming groves and peaceful plains;
Forever sacred be those arms he wore,
The cause that mov'd him, and the barque that bore,
'Twas heav'ns own cause—'twas freedom's injur'd name,
The love of country, and the voice of fame
Call'd forth his active marshal skill to go
Scour the wide deep and scourge the tyrant foe:
Dauntless he fights, where dying groans resound,
And thund'ring carnage roars tremendous round—
'Till heav'n beheld him with propitious eyes,
And snatch'd his kindred spirit to the skies.
When from the Turks his mangled form they bore
With glory cover'd, bath'd in streaming gore,
Bewailing friends his ghastly wounds survey'd,
Which bid defiance to all human aid,
When life stood trembling, ling'ring in its flight,
And heav'n's blest visions dawn'd upon his sight;
The radient shades of heroes hov'ring round,
Midst harps of angels, with reviving sound,
Sooth'd the last pangs of his undaunted breast,
And wing'd him, convoy'd, to eternal rest,

Could worth have rescu'd, or could virtue save
Her heav'n-born vot'ries from the destin'd grave;
Could sacred friendship's hallow'd pray'rs bestow
The gift of immortality below;
Could thousand's sighs and tears, that ceaseless roll,
Call from the shores of bliss th' angelic soul:
(Though the bold wish be impious deem'd, and vain,)
Death ne'er had reach'd him, or he'd live again.
But fate's decrees, irrevocably just,
Doom'd his frail body to the mingling dust;
In yon cold deep it finds unwak'd repose,
Far from th' embrace of friends or reach of foes;
Till the last trumpet's loud eternal roar
Call forth its millions from the sea and shore,
Nor till the final blast, and awful day,
Shall that brave soul reanimate its clay.

OUR men were employed in repairing the damages done in the ſeveral attacks upon the forts and batteries—laying new platforms, building new gun-carriages, hauling timber and ſtone to build boats and erect fortifications, and nothing, worthy of remark, tranſhaped our fortune for a conſiderable time.

October 21—was the laſt day we ſaw any of our ſhipping. The Tripolitans took their arms and ammunition from their gun-boats, and extracted the charges from the cannon on the forts and batteries. It ſeems the Baſhaw, as yet, had but very inadequate conceptions of the force of his foe; for he this day told Doctor Cowdery (ſo he informs us) that if he had three frigates he would blockade America. He fancied he could do it as eaſily as one frigate and a ſchooner could blockade Tripoli.

October 23.—No bread to be had. The Turks told us, that in conſequence of the blockade which our ſhipping had maintained, we now had to ſuffer, and adviſed us to petition

to our Commodore in Syracufe, to make peace and take us away. The Bafhaw iffued an edict, prohibiting the inhabitants from purchafing, and the venders of grain from felling to any but the caftellany. Money would not command bread, and ftarvation was whetting her teeth to devour us. Commodore Lyfle, difregarding the Bafhaw's proclamation, purchafed fome barley. An altercation enfued between them. Lyfle infifted on his right to purchafe grain in the public marts. The Bafhaw was outrageous, flew at him, ftruck him, and commanded his guard to difarm and confine him, which was done, for a few hours, when the Bafhaw ordered him releafed, and gave the perfon, who had fomented the fracas, 500 baftinadoes. For three days we never tafted bread, and for eleven days more we had but a very little, fubfifting on dates preffed into a cake, and vegetables, with oil.

November 9.—The meat and vegetables, which we had drawn by order of Capt. Bainbridge, were difcontinued. Philofophers may prate what they will, of the feafibility of our enjoying happinefs under all circumftances, and in all conditions. Let one of thofe fticklers for contentment be placed in our fituation, with an empty ftomach, a heavy burthen on his back, and a fell fiend at his heels, dealing flagellation at every ftep, and I am pretty well convinced, that he would feel difpofed to relinquifh his tenets.

The Bafhaw had a fit of the epilepfy. His people imagined him poffeffed of the devil; a Marabewt performed many exorcifms, which at length difpelled him.

November 20.—A great fcarcity of bread ftill prevailed, and our men were obliged to fell the clothes which they had lately drawn, and for which they were fuffering, to procure fomething to fuftain life. The cravings of hunger predominated over the calls of external wants, and our clothes were facrificed for a mere trifle; but trifles are of magnitude when they preferve life. During the extremity of famine, one of our men, impelled by imperious hunger, taking advantage of the Jews'

Sabbath, who had the charge of the diſtillery, clambered over a wall twenty feet high, broke or unlocked three doors, and got into the ſtill-houſe, where a little ſhop was kept for retailing aqua-deut, and brought off a pitcher full of Buckamſeens, which he diſtributed amongſt his companions ſo profuſely, that he was ſuſpected, and ſubſequently convicted of the robbery; but he greaſed the fiſts of his keepers, who, for a ſhare, put him in irons, and gave him a ſlight puniſhment. Some of our tars had the ingenuity to counterfeit the Baſhaw's coin. When a ſpecimen of the fraud was ſhewn to the Baſhaw, he laughed heartily, and ſaid that the Americans were all wizzards and devils, and proteſted, that if the perſon was detected, he could not puniſh, but reward his invention.

December 7.—It was ſaid, that the Baſhaw, impatient for the money which he foreſtalled as the price of our ranſom, gave orders to our wardens, to treat us with the utmoſt ſeverity, in order to extort from us ſupplications to our country for a ſpeedy peace. For ſeveral days we had been without bread or money, for the Baſhaw ſometimes ordered us caſh, when bread was not plenty, and the men were unanimouſly determined not to labour any more unleſs one or the other was allowed us.

December 10.—Our keepers or drivers, as uſual, unlocked the priſon doors early in the morning, and ordered us *tota fora* (all out.) Not one of us moved. The moſt of us had now provided ourſelves with cots, as before deſcribed, which were ranged one above another, to the top of the priſon, making it difficult for the drivers to come at us. A few, however, ſlept on the ground, and to thoſe the furious elves had free acceſs, and began to beat them. We then all ſpoke, and told them, that we were reſolved, if death ſhould be the conſequence, not to turn out another day without food. They threatened to call the ſoldiers, and fire in upon us, and when they found they could not move us by threats nor blows, they left us, and informed the Baſhaw of our refractory conduct.

They ſoon returned, and aſſured us, that if we would peaceably and tacitly obey their orders, we ſhould have bread at twelve o'clock—this was agreed to, and the ſtipulation was fulfilled.

December 21.—At night the Baſhaw's eldeſt ſon, the Bey of Tripoli, was married to his couſin, eldeſt daughter of the Ex-Baſhaw. The bride was very beautiful, and ſaid to be but twelve years old. Our boatſwain, carpenter, ſail-maker, and firſt maſters-mate, who had been at liberty, on parole, ſince the 27th of June, were put in cloſe confinement with our other officers, on a ſuſpicion of conſpiring with the crew, to riſe and take the caſtle. It is true, ſuch a plot was in cogitation, but it was a very prepoſterous one. It was meditated for us to ruſh into the caſtle, when the gates were firſt opened in the morning—to ſeize on the armoury and magazine—liberate our officers—ſecure the guard and the Mamelukes, and make a priſoner of the Baſhaw and his family. At the ſame time, to plant a 26 pounder, loaded with grape, at each gate, and point the guns of the caſtle into the town. This, doubtleſs, might have been effected with but little loſs; but the queſtion is, how long could we have maintained our ground. The Turks might have brought their cannon, from the different forts, to bear upon, and battered the caſtle to proſtrate ruins. Could ſuch a plot have been carried into operation, when our ſquadron was cruiſing off the harbour, it might have been terminated with ſucceſs; but, under the then exiſting circumſtances, before relief could have reached us, deſtruction muſt have ſwallowed us up.

December 25.—In compliance with a petition which we preferred to Captain Bainbridge, he ſent orders to the Daniſh Conſul, to have us ſupplied with a collation of freſh beef and vegetables, with an additional allowance of one loaf of bread per man; the whole to be waſhed down with a caſk of wine, yielding a dividend of one quart to each individual. We alſo petitioned the Baſhaw, for a reſpite from labour, for the

day, and he was graciously pleased to vouchsafe our request. In the morning, at the usual time of unlocking our prison, the wardens came, and informed us, that some cordage and other articles were missing out of the Bashaw's naval magazine, (as they called it) and that some of the Americans were suspected of the robbery, and, unless we would give information of the perpetrator, no holiday should be allowed us; but, that we should spend the day in close confinement, and without food. They kept us in until about ten o'clock, when it being discovered, that Selim, the Bashaw's son-in-law, who carried the keys of the stores, had committed the crime, by selling the cordage, clandestinely, to a Tunisian merchant, we were allowed to come out, and bring our provisions and wine to the prison. The Bashaw ordered his son-in-law 500 bastinadoes; but he fled to a Marabewt, and escaped punition. The remainder of the day was spent, if not with the greatest festivity, with decent propriety, and was ended in perfect unanimity. Among a number of songs, in the evening, the following, though not composed on the occasion, and, perhaps, not applicable to the particular genius of the day, was, nevertheless, sung by unanimous request.

SONG.

Tune—" *Madam you know my trade is war.*"

1. Columbia! while the sons of fame
Thy freedom through the world proclaim,
And hell-born tyrants dread the name
  That wills all nations free;
Remote, on Barb'ry's pirate coast,
By foes enslav'd, a miscreant host,
No more the rights of man we boast;
  Adieu, blest Liberty!

2. How fearful lour'd the gloomy day,
When, stranded on the shoals, we lay
Expos'd, our foremast cut away,
To the rough-dashing sea;
When hostile gun-boats thunder'd round,
And no relief, nor hopes were found,
The mournful words swell'd ev'ry sound,
Adieu, blest Liberty!

3. In helpless servitude, forlorn,
From country, friends, and freedom torn,
Alike we dread each night and morn,
For nought but grief we see;
When burthens press—the lash we bear,
And all around is black despair,
We breathe the silent, fervent pray'r,
O come, blest Liberty!

4. Mem'ry, to mis'ry e'er unkind,
Brings present, to the painful mind,
The woes oblivion, else, would find,
And evils cease to be;
And fancy, when we're wrapp'd in sleep,
Conveys us o'er the boundless deep;
But, wak'd to sigh, we live to weep,
Adieu, blest Liberty!

5. And when invading cannons roar,
And life, and blood, from hundreds pour,
And mangled bodies float ashore,
And ruins strew the sea;
The thoughts of death, or freedom, near,
Create alternate hope and fear;
Oh! when will that blest day appear,
That brings sweet Liberty!

6. When rear'd on yonder castle's height,
The naked flagstaff's drest in white,
We gaze, enraptur'd at the sight;
How happy shall we be!

When thund'ring guns proclaim a peace,
Our toils all o'er, our woes shall cease;
We'll bless the pow'r that brings release,
And hail sweet Liberty!

We ſent our thanks to Captain Bainbridge, for his compliance with our requeſt, and, on the firſt of January, he ordered us the ſame quantity of proviſions and wine as before. I was told to take eight men, go to the Daniſh Conſul's, and get the wine. Our men were the tapſters, and the Conſul requeſted me to keep an account of the meaſure. The good-natured, benevolent man, told us all to drink as much as we wanted, while it was drawing, and came, ſeveral times, urging us to drink. The tapſters accepted of his liberal invitation with ſuch unreſerved cordiality, that, by the time they had finiſhed drawing, they were not able to carry the cask to the priſon. Another ſet of bearers was collected, and the Conſul made them drink, until they were nearly as much intoxicated as the firſt; and when we were departing, he diſtributed a handful of money amongſt the whole. Our tars pronounced him the beſt fellow they had ever met with, and ſwore he muſt have been a ſailor, or he would not be ſo generous with his caſh and his grog.

January 28.—A ſtrong guard was placed in our priſon-yard, and we were forbid to go out. The infamous Wilſon had informed the Baſhaw, that we were all armed, and prepared to riſe and take the town. They ſearched our priſon, and found the report falſe.

February 1.—George Griffeth, gunner's-mate of the late Philadelphia, having inveigled the Baſhaw with the project, that he could conſtruct an air-furnace, to caſt guns, ſhot, and ſhells in, was provided with maſons, and nine of our crew, and ſet to the work. He received a doubloon, on commencing, and was promiſed one hundred dollars for the firſt ſpecimen of his skill. After laviſhing more than five hundred dol-

lars, in making the experiment, it this day proved abortive, by premeditated deſign.

February 13.—

> Another tar has weather'd storms and strife,
> And burst the bonds of slav'ry and of life.

As a number of our men were at work, under a corner of the caſtle wall, a part of it fell, and cruſhed out the entrails of Jacob Dowerdiſhu, who died inſtantly.

February 20.—Our bread, which we drew from, or by order of the Captain, growing light, we petitioned him to let us receive a buckamſeen a piece, each day, in the place of it, to which he complied, and which we received, daily, until the termination of our captivity. The ſum amounted to ten dol-dollars and three quarters, which I received, every morning, from the Daniſh Conſul, and divided amongſt the men. Such as laboured at the cart, and a large number who were employed in building up a corner of the caſtle, received a buckamſeen a day from the Baſhaw, and my task was to muſter them, at evening, and mark the number of days each one had laboured, and receive and pay them the money. The men were often defrauded, by the embezzling of the keepers.

March 1.—An American frigate appeared off the harbour. The Turks repaired to their quarters, and manned their gunboats. They began to reſume their wonted cruelties on ſuch occaſions.

March 4.—Haſſan Bey, the Baſhaw's Aga, was appointed to the command of an expedition to Derne. A great number of our men were employed in packing up ammunition and proviſions for the expedition. Two frigates and a brig, ſuppoſed to be American, appeared off the harbour. The inhabitants, expecting a ſiege, began to move their families and effects into the country.

March 16.—The manſion lately occupied by our officers appeared to be full of people, and a guard on the terrace, and

at the door. They were the neareſt relatives of thoſe officers who had gone on the expedition, and held as pledges of their loyalty, fearing they might attach themſelves to his brother, the Ex-Baſhaw.

March 18.—The Baſhaw ſent Selim, his ſon-in-law, into the country, to raiſe troops for the defence of Tripoli.

March 21.—A frigate in ſight. "Several of the ſons, and moſt eſteemed friends of the Baſhaw's chiefs in the country were brought into the caſtle, as hoſtages for their fidelity to the preſent Baſhaw."

March 29.—Two large, ſtout negroes, were hanged at the city gate, for murder and robbery. They were executed in a moſt barbarous manner. A thick clumſy ſtraw rope was faſtened round each of their necks; they were placed at the foot of the wall, the ropes paſſed through the embraſures of the wall, and then five or ſix Turks ſeizing hold of it, ran away with the bight, and dragged them to the top, where they were made faſt, and in which ſituation they lived three or four hours. They had no caps over their faces, and nothing on but ſhirts. They were not taken down until night, hanging from about 9 o'clock in the morning.

March 30.—Selim, who had been ſent into the country to collect or enliſt troops, returned with but a handful of men. The people had been oppreſſed by his exorbitant demands for money, and their women had been ſtripped of their rings, bracelets and jewels, and they refuſed to fight for the Baſhaw.

April 12.—The Regency received information from his agent in Malta, of the formidable armament of the Americans in preparation. The Spaniſh Conſul preſented the Baſhaw three hundred ſtands of arms, and a number of piſtols; and, it is ſaid, adviſed him to keep up the war, and force the Americans to pay his demands.

April 13.—"The Baſhaw declared that if the Americans drove him to extremities, or attacked his town, he would put every American priſoner to death."

April 27.—A very oppreſſive Syroc wind, and two of our men, who were ſent into the country with a cart, dragging it, loaded, over the burning ſands, fainted and were brought in almoſt lifeleſs. The remainder were nearly exhauſted by heat and fatigue. Several companies of Arabs paſſed through the town, and paraded under the Baſhaw's balcony, in the navy-yard. There were about three hundred horſe and ſeven hundred foot, and both made but a deſpicable appearance.

May 3.—The great Marabewt, who has been mentioned, aſſured the Baſhaw that two American frigates more would be deſtroyed; and that the powder of the whole American ſquadron would be ſo damaged that they would not be able to fire a gun. He agreed to attend the Baſhaw, to keep the balls and ſhells from hurting him.

May 14.—Doctor Cowdery received a letter from Captain Bainbridge, ſtating the inconveniences which the officers ſuffered by being in cloſe confinement, and breathing unwholeſome air. The Doctor ſpoke to the Baſhaw on the ſubject, and humbly ſolicited that our officers might be removed to the American houſe. The Baſhaw replied, that the war between him and our country was at firſt about money; but now it was whether he or his brother ſhould be the Baſhaw; and that the Americans had bound themſelves to his brother in ſuch a manner that it was not in their power to make peace with him; and that his brother and the Americans were determined to take Tripoli, and put him to death. He ſwore by the prophet of Mecca, that if the Americans brought his brother againſt him he would burn to death every American priſoner except the Doctor; that he ſhould be ſpared becauſe he had ſaved the life of his child when very ſick.

May 19.—Antonio, a Neapolitan ſlave, who had recently paid his own ranſom, returned from Malta and Syracuſe, whither he had been ſent by the Baſhaw as a ſpy. He bro't news that the American ſquadron ſailed for Alexandria, in Egypt, about twenty days before; that they were to take on

board the former Bafhaw, and proceed along the coaft of Tripoli, and take the principal towns, and then to attack and take the town of Tripoli, and put in poffeffion the Ex-Bafhaw. The Bafhaw and his people were much alarmed at this news. As the refidue of Doctor Cowdery's journal approaches very near the truth, we muft do him the honour to copy it nearly verbatim.

May 22.—"I was informed that, in a letter which the Bafhaw received the evening before, it was ftated that Haffan Bey and his army were taken in Derne, by the Americans and Sidi Hamet, the Ex-Bafhaw. I was defired not to mention it, becaufe it was a great fecret, and the Bafhaw did not wifh to let people know it. I was alfo informed that the Bafhaw called a council of his chiefs, and propofed to put all the American prifoners to death, but it was agreed to poftpone this meafure for that time."

May 23.—"Twenty-four of our men were fent with a cart, for timber, into the country. The wind from the defert was very heavy and hot. The men almoft perifhed in the fand, which flew and drifted like a fnow-ftorm in our country.—They ftopped through fatigue, and afked their driver, who was a Turk, for liberty to drink at a well which was near there. The Turk replied that they were Rama keips, (Chriftian dogs) and faid they fhould have no water. He gave them all a fevere beating with a club, which he always carried with him to beat them with, and made them go on with the cart, which the poor fellows had to drag, loaded with timber, thro' the burning fand. They returned towards night, almoft perifhed." This is true, but no more than what occurred almoft every day.

May 24.—"At night the Bafhaw difpatched a boat, loaded with powder, mufket-balls and money, for his troops who were collecting to oppofe the approach of his brother Hamet, the Ex-Bafhaw. The eldeft fon of Hamet was confined in the caftle, by order of his uncle. The Bafhaw was fo much

agitated at the news of the approach of his brother, that he this day declared that if it were in his power to make peace and give up the American prifoners, he would gladly do it without the confideration of money." If this be true, what muft we think of Col. Lear's treaty? What muft we think of fixty thoufand lavifhed to no purpofe? "His funds were fo low that his fteward run in debt for the fupply of the kitchen. He gave his Mamelukes, domeftics and myfelf but one meal per day. The rich Turks in town took turns in fupplying his troops. He heartily repented for not accepting the terms of peace laft offered by our country."

May 26.—"Three frigates in fight. About eleven, A. M. the fmalleft came near in and hoifted the banners of peace. The Bafhaw afked his head men of the town, who were with him in the gallery, whether it was beft to hoift his white flag. All, except one (the charge de affairs for Algiers) declared in favour of it, and of making peace, if poffible. They expreffed great contempt towards the Algerine Conful for his advice, and faid that whoever would advife the Bafhaw not to hoift the white flag at fuch a critical moment, muft be his foe, and not his friend. The Algerine foon difappeared and left the caftle.—The Spanifh Conful foon after came to the caftle, and the Bafhaw fent him in one of his handfomeft boats with Shaws Hammad, to the frigate. They returned in the evening with the joyful news of a profpect of peace. There was a vifible change from gloominefs to joy in the countenances of all the Turks." And if it had this effect on the Turks, what muft it have produced in the feelings of Americans in flavery? Our men were in paroxifms of joy, notwithftanding the iffue was yet precarious.

May 27.—"Both Turks and Chriftians were all anxioufly looking out for the frigates. It was faid that Col. Lear promifed to come on fhore this morning, and that the Spanifh Conful was preparing a dinner for the gentlemen who were expected to come with him. We were all agitated alternately

by hope and defpair. The terraces, and every eminence in town, were covered with people of all claffes and ages, who were looking for the wifhed-for peace-maker; but not a frigate nor fail hove in fight during the day."

May 28.—"All looking out again for our fquadron. A brig hove in fight in the morning, which we all at firft thought was the flag fhip. On difcovering it was a brig, a gloominefs again appeared on every countenance. The Turks began to think the frigate had gone to fetch the whole fleet, which they had heard confifted of fixty fail of different fizes. They thought that the flag of truce was only a plea of the Americans to find out the force of Tripoli, &c. But, at fun-fet, three frigates and a brig appeared, which revived our hopes. The Bafhaw fhewed great anxiety for peace. He was fenfible of the danger he was in from the lownefs of his funds, and the difaffection of his people."

May 29.—"Three frigates and a brig bore down upon the town, and difplayed the enfigns and fignals of peace, which were immediately anfwered from the caftle. The Spanifh Conful, Fafah the Jew, and feveral Turks, went on board and did not return till late at night, when it was reported that negociations for peace were going on rapidly."

May 31.—"The Spanifh Conful and Shaws Hammad went on board with the commodore, and returned at night. The Bafhaw fent me to inform Captain Bainbridge that peace was agreed on, which I did to the great joy of our officers."

June 1.—"The truce continued. Captain Bainbridge went on board the commodore, and returned at night. Our men were ftill drove to hard labour, and our officers confined."

June 2.—"I received a letter from Captain Bainbridge, ftating that the terms of peace were agreed on, and that we fhould go on board the fquadron. I immediately read this letter to our crew, who were fo overjoyed that many of them fhed

tears. They were ftill drove to hard work, and many of them flogged."

Captain Bainbridge came himfelf to our prifon, called us together and communicated the intelligence of a treaty being agreed on, but not yet figned; and cautioned us not to let the profpect of liberty tranfport us beyond the bounds of difcretion, left the preliminaries might yet be annulled. He delivered me a letter from a friend of mine in the United States, the only one I received while in Tripoli.

June 3.—" The articles of peace were figned, and about four o'clock in the afternoon the falute was fired from the frigates and batteries."

I fhall not pretend to defcribe in adequate terms our various emotions for a number of days previous to this confirmation of our hopes. Sometimes our fpirits were foaring buoyant on the wings of fanguine expectation; at other times, diving into the very gulph of defpair.

> But O! what joy when the saluting sound
> Was heard to thunder through the arches round!
> Enraptur'd lays the choral hundreds sung,
> And that drear mansion once with gladness rung.

The Bafhaw this morning called the American renegades Wilfon, Weft, Smith, who had a wife and four children in Bofton, Hexiner and Prince, and told them that peace was now concluded, the Americans were about to leave Tripoli, and if they, or either of them chofe to go, it was left at their option. Unaware of the artifice, all, except Wilfon, expreffed their wifh and anxiety to relinquifh the turban and accompany us to America. Wilfon, jealous of the Bafhaw's fincerity, and perhaps afraid of the threatened halter, thanked his majefty for this generous offer, but told him that he preferred Tripoli to America, and Mahometanifm to Chriftianity, and that he chofe to remain, and would ever continue firmly attached to

his fervice. Wilfon was honoured and careffed by the Bafhaw and his Divan for his fingular fidelity—while the other four were fent into the country with a formidable guard. We had a glance at them as they paffed our prifon, and could fee horror and defpair depicted in their countenances. A number of our men went to the American houfe and remained all night with our officers, but the greater part were locked in the prifon as ufual. Our drivers were miffing and a new guard over us.

June 4.—Left our men might wreak vengeance on fome of the Turks, and efpecially the keepers, for paft cruelties, which would have inevitably involved us in difficulties and dangers, our men were kept locked in the prifon until the arrangements were made to receive them all at the rendezvous, which was not until about ten o'clock, A. M. Here we all received new clothes, and were fent on board of different veffels in the afternoon; where fome met with the warm reception of a good flogging before the next morning.

The fall preceding we had drawn a fubfcription for the purpofe of purchafing the ranfom of a friendly Neapolitan.—We obtained confiderable encouragement at that time; but our own emancipation appearing fo dubious, this humane project for that time was procraftinated. As foon, therefore, as our liberty was afcertained, we refumed the fubject, and obtained upwards of three hundred dollars, wrote to Captain Bainbridge and had the money advanced and deducted out of our wages, and enjoyed the fupreme fatisfaction of giving liberty to one of our fellow-creatures. He was fervant to our chief wardeen, and not a tafk-mafter nor a driver over us as has been reported, in which capacity he had frequent opportunities of befriending us, and had rendered feveral of us very effential fervices. I have been informed, however, that when he found what feverity was practifed in our fervice, he ferioufly repented of his leaving Tripoli!

We were upwards of nineteen months in impriſonment, and only ſix died out of more than three hundred men; and conſidering the hardſhips we endured, we had but little ſickneſs—a ſufficient proof that the climate is remarkably healthy. It was thought that the oil we mixed with all our food contributed greatly to the preſervation of our healths. Abdallah, whom we called Captain Blackbeard, was our chief wardeen. He was a Moor, poſſeſſed great ſubtlety, inſufferable pride, and was a "calm, thinking villain." Soliman, whom we nicknamed Scamping-Jack, was a Tuniſian. He was ſagacious, irraſcible, fierce and cruel when provoked, and ſeemed to delight in miſchief, ſtrife and tumult. He was more furious and leſs vindictive than Blackbeard Touſef, or Joſeph, who was formerly the Ex-Baſhaw's chief ſteward, was our third in authority. He was born of French parents, and came from Egypt to Tripoli when quite young. Like men diſappointed and deprived of office, he was captious, querulous and malevolent. In a word, he was a quid. The fourth was of Greek parentage, whom we called Bandy, from his having crooked legs. He had been a Mameluke of the Ex-Baſhaw, and ſincerely prayed for his reſtoration. He never ſtruck any of us, ſeemed to ſympathiſe in our ſufferings, and was friendly and humane. Every one of our men would ſtrive to be in his gang, and the old fellow, grateful for their preference, or proud of their partiality, would ſhow them all the kindneſs and lenity which he dare. The fifth was an old Algerine, whom we named Blinkard. He was a ſort of a doctor—cruel, paſſionate and ferocious. The laſt and moſt barbarous villain of the whole was a Tripolitan. Him we called Red-jacket. Whenever any of our ſhipping were firing on the town, he would take the opportunity to vent his infernal malice by beating and bruiſing our men with accumulated barbarity. The boatſwain of the navy-yard was a Ruſſian Mahometan, and was very inhuman to our men when they fell under his clutches. Theſe wretches were the ready inſtruments of the Baſhaw's will,

wholly dependent on his ſmiles, and conſtant competitors for his favour. Mean, fawning, mercenary and cruel, they were held in as much contempt as ſlave-drivers in our own country, as jail-keepers in all countries, and as boatſwains' mates of a man of war. I have often ſeen the citizens of Tripoli hiſs them as they walked the ſtreets. The priſon which we laſt occupied was about one hundred and fifty feet in length, thirty in breadth, and twenty-five in height. It was built of ſtone, and its huge arches were ſupported by ſquare columns, about ten feet diſtant from each other, extending from the inſide of the wall nine or ten feet. Between theſe columns our cots were faſtened or ſuſpended, one above another, to the vertex of the arch. Out of our allowance of oil we ſaved enough to light our gloomy priſon at night. There were three hundred and fifty perſons, including Neapolitans, nocturnal inhabitants of this priſon, and more than two hundred lamps burning every night. When every lamp was lighted, every arch, and every cot in each arch illuminated, the whole made a romantic, multiform and grand diſplay of pompous miſery.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER XII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE.

Ye lurid domes! whose tott'ring columns stand,
Marks of the despot's desolating hand:
Whose weed-grown roofs and mould'ring arches show
The curse of tyranny, a nation's woe;
In ev'ry ruin—ev'ry pile I find
A warning lesson to a thoughtful mind.
Your gloomy cells expressive silence break,
Echo to groans and eloquently speak:—
" The Christian's blood cements the stones he rears;
" This clay was moistened with a Christian's tears;
" Pale as these walls a pris'ner oft has lain,
" Felt the keen scourge and worn the ruthless chain;
" While scoffing foes increasing tortures pour,
" Till the poor victim feels, alas! no more!"
Here thy brave tars, America, are found
Lock'd in foul prisons and in fetters bound.
Heav'ns! what sad times! must free Columbians bow
Before yon tinsel'd tyrant's murky brow?
Cringe to a pow'r which death and rapine crown?
Smile at a smile, and tremble at a frown?
Kneel at a throne, its clemency implore,
Enrich'd by spoils and stain'd with human gore?
Bear the sharp lash, the pond'rous load sustain,
Suppress their anger, and revenge restrain?
Leave a free clime, explore the treach'rous waves,
The sport of miscreants and the slave of slaves?
Heav'ns! at the sight each patriot bosom glows
With virtuous hatred on its country's foes;
At ev'ry blow indignant passions rise,
And vengeance flashes from resentful eyes.
But heav'n is just, though man's bewilder'd mind
To mystic ways of Providence is blind;

Else why are some ordain'd above the rest,
Or villains treated better than the best?
Why, martyr'd virtue, hang thy injur'd head?
Why liv'd an Arnold, while a Warren bled?
Earth's murd'rers triumph, proud oppressors reign,
While patriots bleed and captives sigh in vain.
Yet slumb'ring justice soon shall wake and show
Her sword, unsheath'd, and vengeance wing the blow:
Columbia's genius, glorious as the sun,
With thy blest shade, immortal Washington!
Unite to guard us from nefarious foes,
And heav'n defend, and angels interpose,
Devoted tyrants cause due wrath to feel,
Make Beys and Bashaws in submission kneel;
Man's equal right, sweet liberty, restore,
And despotism fall, to rise no more.

TRIPOLI, including Barca, one of the piratical ſtates of Barbary, on the continent of Africa, is ſituated between 10 and 30 degrees of eaſt longitude—30 and 34 degrees of north latitude; bounded on the north by the Mediterranean ſea; eaſt by Egypt; ſouth by the country of the Beriberies, and weſt by Tunis and Biledulgerid; being about eleven hundred miles in length, and two hundred and forty in breadth. The city of Tripoli, the capital and largeſt town of the dominion, lies on the ſouthern ſhore of the Mediterranean, in eaſt longitude 14 degrees and 30 minutes, and in north latitude 33 degrees and 30 minutes. It is built on low ſandy ground; the adjacent country is level, and as you approach the harbour, from the ſea, being bordered on the eaſt and ſouthweſt, beginning from about a mile diſtant, by tall, graceful and ever verdant date-trees, contraſted with the pale ſands of the barren deſerts on the weſt and ſouthweſt, the white walls, the horizontal terraces, the enamelous domes, the ſcattered ruins on the beach, whoſe wild and ſtubborn breaſts repel, as they confront the furious foaming waves, maintaining an eternal war-

fare, exhibit to the wandering eye the picturefque fcenes of nature aud of art, and convey, to the fertile imagination, impreffive leffons of the fuperftition, the folly, the duplicity and the turpitude of mankind. For here bribery, treachery, rapine, murder, and all the hedious offspring of accurfed tyranny, have often drenched the ftreets in blood, and dealt, to the enflaved inhabitants, famine, dungeons, ruin and deftruction. On yonder nodding tower, once waved the banners of the all-conquering Rome, when thefe fruitful regions were ftyled the Eden of that empire, now Gothic ruins, and barbarous inhabitants curfe the half-tilled foil. The harbour is difficult and dangerous to enter, teeming with rocks and fhoals.

The town is furrounded by intrenchments, and inclofed by a wall between twenty and thirty feet in height, thick, firm, and impregnable; flanked by forts, planted with heavy artillery, and formidable hofts of favage barbarians. There are three gates, two of which open to the eaft, into the country, and the other to the northweft, leading to a wharf, where cargoes from their fhipping are landed, and freights received on board. Thefe gates are opened precifely at the rifing, and clofed exactly with the clofing day; but when the Bafhaw takes his cavalcade excurfion, they are not allowed to let the people pafs through them, until his return.

At the northeaft corner of the town, ftands the Bafhaw's caftle, wafhed, on one fide, by the waves. Like the government, it is built on ruins, without either tafte, elegance, or grandeur; and exhibits an appofite fpecimen of barbarian folly. The foundation of it is faid to have been laid more than twelve hundred years ago, and covers about an acre of ground. Its form is of an irregular fquare, and its altitude may be one hundred feet. Its principal gate looks towards the fouth, in front of which, a large portico contains a conftant guard; the captain of which appears to be both a civil and a military officer, for both citizens and foldiers are daily brought before him, where, fitting crofs-legged, on a carpet, or reclined on a fofa, he

calmly liſtens to their clamourous accuſations and defence, and if the culprit is found guilty of a petty crime, he receives inſtant puniſhment, on the ſpot, by baſtinading; if of a capital crime, he is either committed to priſon, and reported to the Baſhaw, or carried immediately into his preſence, where he is reheard, and meets from the Baſhaw either a full and quick diſcharge, or a ſure and accelerated death. There is a ſmall gate at the eaſt, and another at the weſt ſide of the caſtle, through which people on emergencies paſs, when the grand part is cloſed. Towards the weſt, from the attic ſtory, projects a gallery, rebuilt by our carpenters, and gaily painted by Smith, the renegade Yankee. Here the Baſhaw may be ſeen from the navy-yard, ſeveral times a day, ſurrounded by his fawning paraſites, taking a viſta of the country, the ſea, and great part of the town, the harbour, and fortifications. From this lofty eminence, the tumid potentate looks down on the groveling multitude, like fictitious Jove, from the ſummit of Olympus, and diſpenſes bleſſings, or curſes, to the humble ſupplicants beneath his feet. After entering the front gate, a narrow, dark, and ſinuous paſſage, leads into a handſome ſquare, or court-yard, with a piazza on each ſide, ſuſtained by colonades of marble. Within this court, ſtands the Baſhaw's family moſque, to enter which, reſorters muſt aſcend a gradatory of white ſtone. Over the door, is an inſcription, in Arabiac characters—Sacred to God, and to Mahomet, the great prophet. The floor is of teſſellated marble, and partly covered with rich carpeting. The walls are lined with porcelain, full of painted hieroglyphicks, and the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Mufti is very ſuperb—hung with embroidered velvet tapeſtry. Chriſtians are never admitted into their moſques in time of devotion; but a few of our men being ſent to waſh out the place, we had an opportunity to ſee the inſide. Every afternoon, at about four o'clock, a band of muſic collects at this place, conſiſting of a kettle-drum, a French-horn, a clarionet, a hautboy, a timbrel, a baſſoon, and ſeveral other tink-

ling toys. The chief officer of police, the same person who has been mentioned as always preceding the Bashaw on horseback, and who is his harbinger at all times, standing on the steps of the mosque until the band have finished their concert, which lasts about twenty minutes, delivers a brief harangue, extending his pronged sceptre three times towards Mecca, when the croud disperse, the gates are opened, and the people pass at pleasure.

There are in this castle, several arsenals, magazines for powder, repositories for provisions, a mint, a seraglio, and a bomb-proof room, where the dastardly Bashaw skulks from danger. Besides the apartments occupied by himself and about one hundred Mamelukes, there are a great number of rooms, once elegant, for that country, falling into ruins.

A large number of camels, horses, mules and asses are kept in the castle, and about five hundred persons attached to it, including servants and soldiers, and yet it is not half occupied. This huge pile overlooks the whole town, and is strongly fortified by heavy pieces of artillery, pointing in all directions. There are in the town three large mosques, a Roman chapel, and a Jewish synagogue. The inside of their mosques are spread with carpets, they are but dimly lighted, supported by collossian pillars of polished marble, and display a gloomy grandeur. Their outward appearance is uncouth, and their form of the Gothic order, their cornices adorned with antique engravings. The houses occupied by the different Christian consuls are large and commodious, built in the oriental style, with a square court two stories high, with handsome piazzas standing on lapideous columns, facing the court, and a cistern in the middle. That of the Swedish consul is decorated with elegant paintings, in imitation of porphyry. That of the American consul is contiguous to the Danish consul's, and is spacious and convenient. Its portico rests on eight pillars of Egyptian marble.

At the time of our manumiſſion and departure from Tripoli, there were ſeven Chriſtian conſuls, reſidentiaries in the place, viz. American, Daniſh, French, Spaniſh, Swediſh, Engliſh and Dutch.

The American conſul, Doctor Ridgely, who was ſurgeon of the Philadelphia, poſſeſſes all the pathos of ſenſibility, and the ſuavity of the real gentleman, without the blandiſhments of the fop. The Daniſh conſul, Mr. Niſſen, is in every reſpect a moſt worthy character, and for the benevolent ſervices which he rendered us in captivity, at the riſque of his own ſafety, deſerves the gratitude, not of us only, but of every American, and merits the applauſe of every votary of humanity and hoſpitality throughout the globe.

The Engliſh conſul, Mr. Langford, like the moſt of his countrymen, is poſſeſſed of more national pride than individual merit; and is a vain and inſolent bragadocia. Some of our tars, once Britiſh ſubjects, dragging at the groaning cart, one day as they were paſſing by him, attracted by a ſympathy natural to compatriots, faintly ejaculated ſome appeal to his philanthropy; when the orgillous repreſentative of Satan had the ſavage brutality to tell them that it was good enough for them for having deſerted his majeſty's ſervice. Some of them had the ſpirit to damn both him and his majeſty, for which he threatened to cane them, but wiſely reſtrained his hand.—It is a ſingular but irrefragable fact, that let an Engliſhman meet an American where he will, eſpecially on the ocean, he never fails to inſult him; if not by a violation of all law and juſtice, by making a collateral deſparity between the two countries, exalting the Engliſh and debaſing the Americans; and yet the moſt of our navy-officers will cringe and act the ſpaniel to an Engliſh one. Some of our ſailors made a handſome ſhip, neatly rigged, painted, &c. which they preſented to their countrymen, in hopes of a generous remuneration.—And what do you ſuppoſe his majeſty's vicegerent gave them? one paltry dollar! which was not half ſo much as the canvas

for the ſails coſt. They preſented one to the Baſhaw, of ſimilar ingenuity, and he gave them a doubloon.

The houſes of Tripoli are built of a free, whitiſh ſtone, brought from quarries at a conſiderable diſtance, and conglutinated by the Egyptian cement. In their ground ſtories, they have no windows towards the ſtreets. Their roofs are nearly flat, and convey the rain-water into pipes, which ſpout it into large ſubterranean ciſterns, whence it is drawn, as from wells, and is much ſuperior to any other water, in or about the town. The floors of the common houſes, like the roofs, are compoſed of mortar, which, when dry, forms a teſtaceous cement, firm and durable.

The ſtreets of Tripoli are not paved, and are crooked, narrow and dirty. The houſes, occupied by the ſhop-keepers, are one ſtory high, ſmall, and make but a wretched appearance. In the front of our priſon, laſt occupied, is an exchange partitioned into numerous ſhops, where merchandize is cried by auctioneers running to and fro with rivalling agility, and harſh, vociferous voices. The building is about three hundred feet ſquare, one ſtory high, and its ponderous dome is ſupported by twenty enormous pillars. It has three large gates, which are ſhut every night, and the ſhops are all ſecure. Slaves are often expoſed to ſale in this noiſy mart.

The whole number of artillery, which defend this place, is not leſs than 150, excluſive of thoſe belonging to the flotilla. There is but one redoubtable fort detached from the city wall. This is at the weſtern ſkirts of the town. It ſtands about 500 feet from the margin of the ſhore, at the corner of the wall. It is of a ſemi-circular figure, its periphery bending towards the ſea, and is mounted with 25 large pieces of thundering artillery. Beſides this, there are ſeveral batteries which flank the harbour, both to the eaſt and weſt.

The town, though not very large, and a great part in ruins, is, nevertheleſs populous, and contains nearly 70,000 inhabitants, of various nations, many of them are the fugitives

from juftice of other countries, confifting of Turks, Algerines, Moors, Tunifians, Egyptians, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, and Maltefe.

The moft of the Tripolitans are Mahometans; the Greek and Maltefe Chriftians are but few; there are alfo about thirty Spaniards, who are but tranfient refidents, chiefly carpenters and mafons, and the Neapolitan flaves. The Jews are very numerous, and are held in the moft abject flavery. On any emergent call for money, the Bafhaw will difpatch his Mamelukes, who will enter the houfes of the Jews, and wring from them their cafh, their plate, or their wardrobe and jewelry, and if they but offer the leaft refiftance, inftant death, or a torturing baftinading, is their cruel lot.

Near the marine gate is a triumphal arch, faid to have been dedicated to Auguftus Cæfar, when the ftates of Barbary were under the Roman government, and in the zenith of their glory Its form is quadrangular, from its bafe, till about 30 feet in height; it then terminates pyramidically, at about 45 feet. Each angle is about 25 feet. It is built of Italian marble, in fquares of twelve feet by four, decorated with emblematic figures, in bafs-relief, which the rude hand of Turkifh barbarifm has facrilegioufly mutilated, and very much defaced.

Not far from this are the ruins of an ancient caftle, faid to have been erected and poffeffed by a Carthagenian governor. The folitary walls befpeak decayed magnificence. Its numerous ventannas and other circumftances, prove it to have been built by other people than the Turks. One of its appertenant buildings is occupied by the Jews, as a diftillery; the remainder, with the ramparts, are nearly dilapidated.

That part of the town inhabited by the Jews exhibits nothing but poverty, flavery, and wretchednefs. The houfes, mingling with mouldering ruins, are mere mud-wall huts; the ftreets, or rather alleys, are odioufly filthy, fwarming with meagre, tattered Bezonians, and their naked, half-ftarved bantlings.

The Turks and Jews have each a flesh-market, without shelter or stalls, where the meat is both slaughtered and sold. Their beef, in general, is poor, but their mutton is super-excellent.

In the vicinage of Tripoli, there are a great number of wells, over which stone arches are turned, from two white pillars, in the form of a gate-way, to which a tackle is affixed, and the water drawn from the wells in large leathern buckets, or bags, by means of a bullock, or cow. A sloping pit is dug, for the animal to descend, that it may raise the water with the more facility. Large stone reservoirs receive the water, as it is drawn up, conducted from the bucket by a pipe. They will draw more than a barrel of water at a time, and very soon fill a receptacle twenty feet wide, and four feet deep. This, it must be understood, is built on the surface of the ground. From these reservoirs it is conducted by small aqueducts, to cheer the vegetable tribes, through different sections of the arid fields. At those places they also water their cattle and horses, and the citizens bring water for various uses. It is a little brackish.

From the ruins without the walls, it may be seen, that Tripoli has been much larger in circumference, than at present; as from history we may learn, that it was once the most populous, and flourishing town on the coast of Barbary.

About half a mile from the town, is a large cemetery, whither the women, in crouds, repair every morning, to mourn for their interred relations, performing genuflexion over their graves, and moistening the dust with their tears.

In a dark alley, in the castle, seated on a marble tomb, or coffin, within a grated cell, may be constantly seen, an old blind anchorite. He professed great friendship for the Americans, and would always grant us his benedictions, as we passed his cage, knowing us by our voices. The defunct, of whom he watches the returning spirit, was one of the Caramauli family, and had been an alcade of considerable eminence.

The mills in Tripoli are turned by camels, as our cider-mills are by horfes. They have no bolts, and feparate the bran from the flour by large fieves. They make excellent flour, for their wheat is of a fuperior quality. They tread out their grain according to the ancient cuftom, and cleanfe it by winnowing.

Contiguous to, and in the vicinity of our prifon, were a large number of weavers' fhops, around which, every morning, you would fee country people thronging, with yarn for fale. Their looms are much of the fame conftruction as ours, and they weave much the fame way as the Europeans, or Americans. Saddlers' and fhoe-makers' fhops are very thick, and the Jewifh filver-fmiths work in the ftreet, in front of their little huts, with affiduous care, and are often robbed by the Turks, as they pafs the ftreets. They have no figns to any of their fhops or ftores, nor any other public tokens of vendition. There are in the town, a French, Englifh, (fo called) and Spanifh hotel, with each a billiard-table, and tolerably well furnifhed with victuals and drink. Befides thefe, there are a number of cook-fhops, where a perfon may get a pretty good difh of foup and meat, for one and a half buckamfeen, (fix cents.) There are not lefs than 50 grog-fhops, kept by the Jews and Greeks, who pay pretty dear excife for their privileges, and are very often cheated and robbed by the Turks, their imperious mafters. In thefe wretched cells, they retail aqua-deut, to the profligate Mahometans, who, notwithftanding the prohibitions of their religion, are frequently found beaftly drunk. Near the centre of the town, is what we denominated a coffee-houfe, formed like a fhed, through which the ftreet paffes. Here the indolent and wealthy refort, every morning, fitting on mats, fpread on ftone feats, about four feet from the ground, with pipes, fix feet in length, fmoking, drinking coffee, and playing at chefs, until the zealous Marabewts proclaim from the fteeples of the mofques, the hour of twelve, and warn the faithful to prayers. There is a bagnio,

near the Daniſh Conſul's, and I do not know how many others. There are no printing-offices, poſt-offices, court-houſes, banks, colleges, or academies, in Tripoli. They do not confine a perſon for debt, when he has nothing to pay, in which reſpect, their laws are more equitable than ours. Their criminals are never long confined, excepting ſome of the great men, on ſuſpicion of conſpiracy, or pretence of treaſonable deſigns. Cells and dungeons, in the caſtle, are the places of confinement for ſtate offenders.

About fourteen miles from this, is the old town of Tripoli, ſituated on the ſea ſhore. This place was once populous and flouriſhing; but, at preſent, ſcarcely one hundred perſons claim a reſidence amongſt its ruins.

Derne is the next town of conſequence, in the Baſhaw's dominions. It is ſituated on the ſea coaſt, in eaſt longitude 22 degrees, and 45 minutes, and in north latitude 39 degrees, and 55 minutes. It is built much after the ſame manner, and with the ſame materials as Tripoli, containing about 15,000 inhabitants. This place will ever be remembered as the theatre, on which that paragon of valour, the brave General Eaton, immortalized his name, and added new luſtre to the ſtars of the American banners.

Braganza, lying on the ſea coaſt, on the weſt ſide of the gulf of Sydra, the antiquated Syrtes, is alſo a place of conſiderable importance, but is ſinking into ruins.

Theſe are the only ſeaport towns, worth mentioning; but we were informed, by the inhabitants, that there are many interior villages, large, populous, and flouriſhing. Barca, the ancient Lybia, once famous for the temple of Ammon, is now truly a deſert; ſcarce a town, or a cultivated ſpot of ground to be found in the whole country. Tolemata is its wretched capital.

In taking a perſpective of Tripoli, we may obſerve a level country, either planted with beautiful groves of fruitful date-trees, and well cultivated gardens of lemons, oranges, olives,

roots, and vegetables, or a totally barren, ſandy deſert, for about forty or fifty miles back from the ſea, when lofty mountains variegate the landſcape, till that of Atlas bounds the ſight. There are many rivers which take their riſe in Mount Atlas, and forming a confluence with thoſe of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, paſs on, and are annihilated in the vaſt Atlantic.

The climate of Tripoli is very hot, where a perſon is expoſed to the ſun, in the country back from the ſea; but along the coaſt, being cooled by northern breezes, it is more temperate than could be expected from its ſituation; and that it is healthy, requires no further proof than what I have already mentioned, that among 307 Americans, being treated with every ſeverity to endanger health, only ſix died during nineteen months, and two out of that number, owed their deaths to circumſtances wholly adventitious. When the Syroc winds prevail, which are not frequent, nor long viſitants, the morbid atmoſphere ſeems impregnated with death, but the ſea breezes on the coaſt, ſoon diſſipate the contagion, and the lofty mountains on the ſouth, barricade the interior againſt the ſtalking monſter of diſeaſe. The rainy ſeaſon uſually commences in November, and continues, alternately, for five or ſix weeks. February and March are bluſtering neighbours, but they ſoon leave us, and the reſt of the year is remarkably calm and ſerene. We never ſaw froſt nor ſnow in Tripoli, for two winters.

We are told, that "under the Roman government, the ſtates of Barbary were juſtly denominated the garden of the world, and to have a reſidence there, was conſidered as the higheſt ſtate of luxury, and that Tripoli was then the moſt populous, opulent, and flouriſhing." But whatever the ſoil may be, the town of Tripoli, at preſent, is greatly inferior, in every reſpect, to either Tunis or Algiers. The fertility of the ſoil cannot be controverted; for were it not extremely prolific, the exanimate

inhabitants, oppreffed by tyranny, and abandoned to indolence, could not poffibly fubfift. The country produces wheat, rye, barley, Indian-corn, oats, beans, peas, flax, hemp, honey, wax, olives, oil, plumbs, dates, figs, almonds, apples (but not in plenty,) pears, cherries, apricots, citrons, lemons, oranges, limes, pomgranates, with a great variety of roots and herbs, both efculent and medicinal. Pumpkins, fquafhes, cucumbers, and melons, in great plenty, and of an excellent flavour, and very cheap, are to be had in the markets.

The food of the loweft order of the Tripolitans, is black barley bread, oil, and vegetables. Salt is taken out of the cavities of rocks, along the fhore, and of courfe, is very plenty, and cheap. Confiderable quantities of faltpetre, is alfo found in Tripoli.

The deferts are peopled by the moft terrific of the quadruped, and reptile fpecies—lions, tygers, leopards, hyenas, and monftrous ferpents, fcorpions, and vipers. Their beafts of burthen are camels, dromedaries, affes, and a mongrel animal, generated between an afs and a cow, which is a very ferviceable creature. The horfes of Tripoli are faid to be equal to thofe of Arabia, for fpeed and mettle. They never dock their horfes, and their tails commonly fweep the ground. They are fhod with a plate. Their cows are fmall, and without horns—in general they give but little milk. Their fheep have longer bodies, and fhorter legs than ours. Their tails weigh from three to fix pounds, and their wool is excellent. Swine they have none. Goats are plenty, large, and good. Bears, porcupines, foxes, apes, hares, rabbits, ferrets, weafels, moles, camelions, rats, mice, and almoft all other reptiles exift in abundance. Eagles, quails, hawks, partridges, and all other kinds of wild fowl are to be found here in great plenty. The capfa fparrow is much celebrated for the beauty of its plumage, and for the exquifite melody of its unrivalled notes. Some of our men caught one, and prefented it to the Danifh

Conful, who made them a very handfome remuneration. This bird is a rare patriot; it cannot live out of its own country.

The markets of Tripoli are well fupplied with excellent fifh. Their commerce and manufactures, compared with thofe of our own country, are very infignificant. An inland trafic is carried on with Arabia and Negroland. To Arabia, they fend woolen manufactures, Morocco leather, indigo, cochineal, and oftrich feathers; for which they receive filks, muflins, fal-ammoniac, faffron, fugar, coffee, fenna, caffia, and other drugs. To Negroland, they fend falt, filk, and woolen manufactures, which they barter for gold duft, ivory, and Negroes. This trade is carried on by caravans. They exchange commodities with Tunis, and fometimes with Egypt. Their exports are Morocco leather, hides, wool, oil, oftrich feathers, barrilla foap, wax, honey, cattle, horfes, guns, figs, olives, dates, almonds, and various other fruits. They carry on a confiderable traffic with Malta, chiefly in Maltefe bottoms, and fell them a large number of cattle, fheep, goats, mules, and camels for which they receive European goods, and plank, for fhip and boat building. Their principal manufactures, are blankets, and woolen cloths, leather, carpets, mats, faddles, tinfel cords, mufkets, piftols, fabres, powder, foap, embroidered handkerchiefs, fword-knots, jewels, rings, &c. The arts and fciences are totally neglected.

The inhabitants, coming from various countries, are of various complexions, and of different ftatures. Thofe who are not attainted with the blood of the blacks, and who are not expofed to the fun, are as fair, and their fkins are much fmoother than the Americans, or Europeans, and, in general, they are of a larger fize, ftrong, and bony. Notwithftanding the women in the town, who are kept from the weather, are very fair, delicate, and graceful, thofe of the country are, many of them, as tawny as the American fquaws, and far more ruftic and indelicate.

The ſupreme authority of Tripoli, is veſted in a Baſhaw, who is choſen by the Janizaries, and confirmed in his title every four years, by the Grand Seignior, without being re-elected. He has a council, or divan, who wait upon him every morning, at ten o'clock. The Baſhaw's herald, and two more officers, dreſſed in long ſcarlet robes, wrapped cloſely round them, and faſtened by a ſaſh, walk in a row to the caſtle, wait in a large ſquare, and when the Baſhaw makes his appearance, ſet up a hideous acclamation, proclaim his edicts, and his will, and then retire, undreſs themſelves, and mix with the ſycophantic croud.

Notwithſtanding the Baſhaw has a Divan, he is an abſolute prince, and does, when he ſees fit, take the lives or the property of his ſubjects, without the advice or conſent of his council. In matters of ſtate, relative to war or peace, he increaſes the number of his divan, and aſſembles all his experienced chiefs. Many of the people in Tripoli are much diſſatisfied with his adminiſtration, and would fain have the Ex-Baſhaw, his brother, reſtored to the throne. But there are no elections there but by the mob, in times of inſurrections. The greater part of his revenue has hitherto conſiſted in the prizes he has taken, and the preſents he has received from the Chriſtian powers, who have made him the cat's-paw of their deſigns; and even the Americans have not diſdained to purchaſe his forbearance by preſents. The Jews pay heavy taxes. The dreſs of the Tripolitans is very multiform. Thoſe of the poorer ſort, in the country, wear nothing but a ſhirt, without collar or wriſtband, a blanket, a red cap and a pair of ſlippers. Thoſe of the more opulent, in the city and country, wear a ſilk ſhirt, an embroidered waiſtcoat, a jacket with ſleeves, broadcloth or fine muſlin kilts, a handſome turban, a wampum belt, with a ſilver-mounted pair of piſtols and ſabre, boots or buſkins, and a fine white ſilk and worſted cloak, with a head to it. The rich and mighty dreſs very ſuperbly—a ſuit of clothes, ſuch as the Mamelukes wear, full trimmed, would coſt at

leaſt five hundred dollars. The moſt of the Mamelukes, and many others, ſhave their beards, leaving muſtachios on their upper lips; but the greater part ſhave their heads only, and leave their beards for ornament, and having no collars to their ſhirts, veſts, or coats, their necks are left bare. The dreſs of the women has been mentioned—it very nearly reſembles that of the men. But when they walk the ſtreets you cannot diſcover any thing of their apparel but a blanket, which completely envelopes them, all but one eye. The Jews and Greeks dreſs very much like the Turks, but they are diſtinguiſhed by a black cap and blue turban.

CHAPTER XIII.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &c. OF THE TRIPOLITANS.

THOUGH ſomething of the manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Tripolitans may be gathered from what has been already mentioned, yet much remains to be particularized. The Tripolitans, like the Moors, marry very young; many of their females not being more than twelve years old at their nuptials, ſo that they are ſometimes grand-mothers at twenty-two, and are reckoned old at thirty. As Mahometans, it is well known, that their religion admits of poligamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they pleaſe; none but the opulent are able to indulge themſelves in this privilege, and I believe very few even of the wealthy have more than one wife, as a plurality of wives ſubjects them to accumulated trouble and expence. In contracting marriage, we are told that the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never ſee each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage articles are made and ſigned before a cadi, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion; or, if not, the huſband agrees to ſettle a certain ſum upon her, in caſe he ſhould die, or divorce her on account of barrenneſs, or any other cauſe. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of the father and mother; but thoſe of the concubines can only claim half a ſhare. When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory viſits every day. At the ſame time a talb attends upon her to converſe with her relative to the ſolemn engagements on which ſhe is about to enter; on theſe occaſions he general-

ly accompanies his admonitions with ſinging a pious hymn, which is adapted to the ſolemnity. The bride, alſo, with her near relations, goes through the ceremony of being painted afreſh. During this proceſs, the bridegroom, on the other hand, receives viſits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, ſome playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing vollies of muſketry. In the mean time, the women in the town collect in ſmall companies, that is, ſuch as are invited to the wedding, and at every corner of the ſtreets ſet up a cry of *bu-bu-bu*. In all theſe feſtivities, the diſcharge of muſketry forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the American or European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactneſs, they diſcharge their pieces as irregular as poſſible, ſo as to have a continual ſucceſſion of reports for a few minutes. On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a ſquare or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and ſometimes with gauzes and ſilks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, ſhe is paraded round the ſtreets, accompanied by her relations and friends, ſome carrying lighted torches, others playing on hautboys, and a third party again firing vollies of muſketry. In this manner ſhe is carried to the houſe of her intended huſband, who returns about the ſame time from performing ſimilar ceremonies. On her arrival ſhe is placed in an apartment by herſelf, and her huſband is introduced to her alone for the firſt time, who finds her ſitting on a ſilk or velvet cuſhion, ſuppoſing her to be a perſon of conſequence, with a ſmall table before her on which are two wax candles lighted. Her ſhift, or more properly ſhirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a ſilk or velvet robe with cloſe ſleeves, which at the breaſt and waiſt is embroidered with gold. This dreſs reaches ſomething lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black ſilk ſcarf, which hangs behind as low

as the ground. Thus attired, the bride ſits with her hands over her eyes, when her huſband appears and receives her as his wife, without any farther ceremony, for the agreement made up by the friends before the cadi is the only ſpecific contract which is thought neceſſary. For ſome time after marriage, the family and friends are engaged in much feaſting, and a variety of amuſements, which laſt a longer or ſhorter time, according to the circumſtances of the parties. It is often cuſtomary for the man to remain at home eight days, and the woman eight months after they are firſt married. If the huſband ſhould have any reaſon to ſuſpect that his wife has not been ſtrictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herſelf from her huſband, if ſhe can prove that he does not provide for her comfortable ſubſiſtance. If he curſes her, the cadi impoſes a fine in money for the firſt offence; for the ſecond, a rich dreſs, and for the third time ſhe may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months. A woman convicted of adultery is puniſhed with immediate death.

When a perſon dies, a number of women are hired for the purpoſe of lamentation; in the performance of which, nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleaſant than their frightful moans, or rather howlings: at the ſame time, theſe mercenary mourners beat their heads and breaſts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are uſually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment, the corpſe is waſhed very clean, and ſewed up in a ſhroud, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca: it is carried on a bier, ſupported upon men's ſhoulders, to the burying place, which is always, with great propriety, on the out ſide of the town; for they never bury their dead in the moſques, or within the bounds of an inhabited place, excepting now and then a ſaint or great perſonage.—The coffin is not coloured, and a ſtriped ſilk mantle is ſpread over it. The bier is accompanied by a number of people,

two abreaſt, who walk a common gait, calling upon God and Mahomet, and ſinging hymns adapted to the occaſion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom and narrow at the top, and the body is depoſited without any other ceremony than ſinging and praying, in the ſame manner as on their way to the grave. Their graves are plaſtered over in the form of a ridge, ſharp at the top, with the ſame congluitnating mortar as their roofs of houſes, and they ſet up at each end of the grave a long ſmooth ſtone. It is frequently cuſtomary for the funeral friends of the departed to weep over their graves for ſeveral days after their funeral, taking neither food nor drink. When a woman loſes her huſband, ſhe mourns four months and eight days, during which period ſhe is to wear no ſilver or gold; and if ſhe happens to be pregnant, ſhe mourns till ſhe is brought to bed. For the above time the relations of her late huſband are obliged to ſupport her. We do not learn that any mourning is due from the husband for the loſs of his wife; but it is cuſtomary, particularly among the great people, for a ſon to mourn for the loſs of his father, by not ſhaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain ſpace of time.

Their method of expreſſing reverence, both to the Divine Being and to man, is by pulling off their ſlippers, which they always leave at the door of the houſe or moſque they enter; and when they attend their prince in the ſtreets, they always follow him bare-footed. They never pull off their turbans, except when they ſleep.

The manners of the well-bred Tripolitans are eaſy, natural and graceful, and their walk careleſsly majeſtic. They ſeem never to be at a loſs for words, and expreſs themſelves with remarkable fecundity. In general they are grave, decent and abſtemious; but thoſe who are addicted to licencioufneſs and inebriety, dive to the very depths of ſenſuality and ſhame.—Their abdeſt conſtitutes a very eſſential part of their religious

ceremonies; for nothing is more conducive to health, in warm climates, than frequent bathings. They wafh themfelves every time they pray, every time they eat, and every time they attend the private calls of excremental neceffity. They fleep on matraffes laid on ftone platforms, raifed about three feet above the furface of the ground, and always yield to drowfinefs at any time of day. They have neither bedfteads, tables, chairs, benches, knives and forks, nor fpoons, excepting wooden ones, to eat their foup. Their whole furniture confifts of a carpet or mat, a looking-glafs, bed, and a few cooking utenfils. Their ufual meals at noon are ftewed fowls or mutton, and millet or rice. A number of them will gather round a large bowl, fitting flat on the ground, and lade in their victuals with their fingers with great dexterity and hafte. The food is too warmly peppered to be agreeable to an American palate.

They have no wheel carriages, neither for pleafure nor ufe, excepting a couple of baggage waggons, left them by a part of Bonaparte's fleet on their way to Egypt; and though they have cattle, horfes, camels, mules and affes in plenty, they never put any of them to their waggons, but made our people perform the part of draft animals.

Their manner of paffing a flight falutation, is by laying the right hand on the breaft and repeating Salam Alicum, (the peace of God) but when they meet a beloved and long abfent friend, they exprefs their joy with the moft enthufiaftic emotions, falling on each other's neck and kiffing with feeming raptures.

In the vicinity of Tripoli we faw a piece of ground prepared and fown with barley; it was firft dug up with a kind of grubbing hoe, the feed was fcattered and ploughed in with a fingle jack-afs and fmall wooden plough.

People who come any diftance from the country with produce for market, inftead of putting up at taverns as people do with us, encamp with their camels on the fand, without the

gates. They wrap themfelves in their blankets, which are their only clothing, and lie down befide their camels during the night. Tuefdays and Fridays are their market days, when they meet on the fands about a mile from town, where you will frequently fee not lefs than ten thoufand people in a morning. On fuch mornings there are no markets in town; the butchers, huckfters, &c. being at the fair to replenifh their fhops.

They go to their employments in general very early in the morning, and eat nothing till twelve o'clock. At four o'clock in the afternoon, let them be where they will, they quit their work, fall on their knees and call upon God and Mahomet.—Every four hours the Marabewts fing out from the balconies of their mofques, announcing the hour of devotion, and proclaiming that God is great and Mahomet is his prophet, &c. They worfhip by kneeling, proftrating themfelves on their faces, and beating their foreheads againft the earth. The men and women never appear together in their mofques, or any other public places.

There are feveral fchools in Tripoli, where may be feen an old grey bearded mafter fitting in the centre of the room, on a carpet, fmoaking his long pipe, furrounded by forty or fifty boys of different ages, feated on mats, each holding a fquare piece of board with a handle to it, on which is pafted his leffon written on paper. They all read loud at a time, and nothing is to be heard but a conftant buz and confufion of founds. Their learning extends no further than to read the Koran, to write a letter and caft accounts, in which many of them are great adepts. They write from the right to the left, and hold the paper in the left hand inftead of laying it on the table.

Indolence feems to be the darling idol of the Tripolitans, for they place their whole blifs in eafe. Sleeping, eating, drinking coffee, fmoking and playing at chefs, occupy nearly all the leifure hours of the wealthy, and the poor feem to

have little recreation except baſking in the ſun. They will ſometimes fight deſperately when ſurrounded and compelled to it by ſelf-preſervation, but in general they are not courageous.

As to their religion, it is radically the ſame as all other Mahometans'; the ground of whoſe faith is "that there has been from the beginning of the world but one true orthodox belief, which conſiſts in acknowledging one true God only, and obeying the precepts of ſuch miniſters and prophets as he ſhall from time to time ſend into the world to reveal his will to mankind." Upon this foundation, Mahomet pretended to be a prophet ſent into the world to reform the abuſes crept into religion, and to reduce it to its original ſimplicity. He added, that as the endeavours of Moſes and Chriſt were rendered abortive, God ſent him as his laſt and greateſt prophet, with a more ample commiſſion than either Moſes or Chriſt were entruſted with. Theirs were confined to perſuaſion only, but his extended to force. The ſword was to effect what preaching and miracles had endeavoured in vain. The divine law was to be propagated by force, and the throne of the faithful founded on the blood of unbelievers. The bounds of this kingdom were to be the ſame with thoſe of the world, and all the nations of the world were to be governed by Mahomet. But as theſe conqueſts could not be made without danger, Mahomet promiſed that thoſe who ventured their lives in eſtabliſhing his kingdom, ſhould enjoy the ſpoils and poſſeſſions of their enemies, as a reward in this life, and after death, a paradiſe of all ſenſual enjoyments, eſpecially thoſe of love. He added, that thoſe who died in propagating the faith, would enjoy a diſtinguiſhed place in paradiſe, experience pleaſures peculiarly intenſe, and vaſtly ſuperior to the reſt of mankind. Theſe particulars, together with the doctrine of predeſtination, and a prohibition of drinking ſpirituous liquors, formed the principal articles of Mahomet's creed, and were written by a monk, whom Mahomet employed, as himſelf could nei-

ther read nor write. Their commandments are five in number, viz. 1ft. To pray five times a day. 2. To feaft in the month Ramadam. 3d. To give alms, and perform works of charity. 4th. To go a pilgrimage to Mecca. 5th. To keep the body clean. Four other points are deemed of importance, though not abfolutely neceffary to falvation, viz. To keep Friday as fabbath; to be circumcifed; to drink no wine, or other ftrong liquors, as before mentioned; and to abftain from fwine's flefh, and from things ftrangled.

Although the general character of the Tripolitans is marked by an affemblage of the moft degrading and atrocious vices, yet there may be found amongft them, men of liberal and charitable fentiments, fair and honorable characters, humane and generous difpofitions, and real friends to mankind.

Tripoli is fuppofed to have been originally peopled from Egypt; but at what time, or who led the firft colony thither, has never yet been developed. They were, however, an itinerant race, whofe only objects were to find water and pafture for their numerous flocks and herds, which, with the fpontaneous productions of the foil, were their only fupport. Like the wandering Arabs, they formed no fettlements, built no houfes, but dwelt in tents. About 891 years before the birth of Chrift, Dido, fifter to Pygmalion, King of Tyre, fled from her brother, at the head of a confiderable colony, and built the celebrated city of Carthage, the ruins of which may be now feen, about 30 miles from Tunis. The Carthagenians, finding the ftates of Barbary divided into petty tribes and kingdoms, conquered and made them their tributary vaffals. This government, which was called a republic, continued to be opulent and formidable; at once the envy and terror of the neighbouring nations, for about 700 years, during which time the city of Tripoli was built. The fortune of the Romans at length prevailed; the pride of Carthage was humbled in the duft, and Tripoli, as well as the other ftates of Barbary,

was made a Roman province. The country ftill continued to flourifh under the Romans; Barbary was efteemed one of the richeft jewels in the Imperial crown, and Tripoli the richeft ftate in Barbary. The Chriftian religion was planted here in the time of the Apoftles themfelves, and flourifhing until the fifth century, when the Vandals trampled on the Roman eagles, and reduced the whole of Barbary under their dominions. Thefe fierce invaders of Africa did not, however, long poffefs the country they had conquered: The Greek emperors drove out the northern barbarians, and reftored, in fome meafure, the arts and manufactures, againft which, as well as religion, the ferocious Vandals had declared perpetual war. But this did not reftore peace and tranquility to thefe parts of Africa: they were alternately ravaged by the Moors and Vandals, and at laft totally conquered by the Caliphs of Bagdad, in the feventh century, and divided among their chiefs. The religion of Mahomet was now eftablifhed in Barbary, and Tripoli foon began to decline.

Reftlefs by nature, and inftigated to conqueft by the tenets of their religion, the Moors paffed over into Europe, and reduced the greater part of Spain. But victory now began to forfake their ftandards. They were feveral times defeated, by the European armies, and at laft, about the year 1492, totally driven out of Spain, by Ferdinand and Ifabella. The only affylum open to the Mahometan fugitives, was Africa, where they fettled among their friends and countrymen, on the Barbary coaft. The expulfion of the Moors occafioned a perpetual war between them and the Spaniards, and finding themfelves incapable of defence againft the Chriftians, they had recourfe to the Turks for affiftance. Accordingly the two famous brothers, Barbaroffa, admirals of the Turkifh fleet, were fent to Barbary. Succefs attended the Turkifh forces; the Spaniards, who had made themfelves mafters of great part of the country, were obliged to retire, and the Moors hoped to enjoy freedom and peace.

For ſome time they flattered themſelves with a ſeries of proſperity; but their hopes were ſoon rendered abortive; they found that they had only exchanged one maſter for another, and that the yoke of their deliverer was full as heavy as that of the Spaniards.

Ever ſince the attempts of Charles V, to reduce Algiers and Tunis, which would have been followed by a ſubjection of Tripoli and all the Barbary powers, they have continued to carry on the trade of piracy againſt the Chriſtians, and have lately pretty much freed themſelves from the Turkiſh yoke.

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE REGENCY OF TRIPOLI; INCLUDING GENERAL EATON'S EXPEDITION.

To guard our commerce from predacious foes,
Repel their insults, and their fleets oppose;
Assert our right to navigate the main,
In spite of England, Barb'ry, France, or Spain;
To shew all pirates self-defence we meant,
Millions for *that*—for *tribute*—not a *cent;*
For this our pines, proud monarchs of the wood,
Fell low to earth, and creeping, kiss'd the flood;
For this our oaks forsook their neighb'ring trees,
And hemp-grown canvas wing'd them o'er the seas;
For this our tars have quit their native shore,
Travell'd through death, and ferried streams of gore;
For this bold Eaton, with his patriot band,
Scour'd the lone deserts of a barb'rous land,
And prov'd, those feats, Leonidas of yore,
With his *three hundred Spartans;* with no more
Than 'leven Americans, our Eaton wrought
More lasting wonders, and more bravely fought.

In giving the public tranfactions of the United States, &c. with the Regency of Tripoli, a lengthy and detailed account cannot be expected—I have, however, drawn from the Secretary of the Navy all the documents and information on the fubject, (including many from the Secretary of State,) which he declares "can confiftently be made public;" and alfo, from General Eaton himfelf, all which he deems neceffary or important relative to his expedition. As far, therefore,

as theſe are authentic, the following ſtatements muſt be conſidered as correct.

I cannot well refrain from making the precurſory remark—that what I have before aſſerted reſpecting the reprehenſible conduct of many of our naval officers, will be fully ſubſtantiated, in the ſubſequent pages, by witneſſes of the higheſt credibility, and from official documents—*not to be diſputed.* Read the official delinquency of Commodore Morris—read his criminal abuſe of David Valenzin, the unfortunate Jew—read the tardineſs and puſillanimity of the voluptuous Commodore Barron—read the intriguing pacifications of Lear, ſanctioned by Barron, in giving General Eaton orders to evacuate Derne five days previous to his ſailing from Malta to enter on his negociations with Tripoli—read the report of the committee of Congreſs on the claim of the Ex-Baſhaw, and alſo that of David Valenzin, where many highly intereſting facts are developed—read ten thouſand other corroborating teſtimonies, and then ſay whether I have been too ſevere in attaching a general, though not univerſal cenſure to our naval commanders, and their ſubordinate myrmidons.

I ſhall now proceed to give what information has fallen within the compaſs of my knowledge.

In the year 1796, the following treaty was entered into, between the two powers.

TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE BEY AND SUBJECTS OF TRIPOLI OF BARBARY.

ART. 1ſt. There is a firm and perpetual peace and friendſhip between the United States of America, and the Bey and ſubjects of Tripoli of Barbary, made by the free conſent of both parties, and guaranteed by the Moſt Potent Dey and Regency of Algiers.

ART. 2d. If any goods belonging to any nation with which either of the parties is at war, ſhall be loaded on board of veſſels belonging to the other party, they ſhall paſs free, and no attempt ſhall be made to take or detain them.

ART. 3d. If any citizen, ſubjects, or effects belonging to either party, ſhall be found on board a prize veſſel, taken from an enemy, by the other party, ſuch citizens or ſubjects ſhall be ſet at liberty, and the effects reſtored to the owners.

ART. 4th. Proper paſſports are to be given to all veſſels of both parties, by which they are to be known. And conſidering the diſtance between the two countries, eighteen months from the date of this treaty, ſhall be allowed for procuring ſuch paſſports. During this interval, the other papers belonging to ſuch veſſels ſhall be ſufficient for their protection.

ART. 5th. A citizen or ſubject of either party, having bought a prize condemned by the party, or by any other nation, the certificate of condemnation, and bill of ſale, ſhall be a ſufficient paſſport for ſuch veſſel for one year; this being a reaſonable time for her to procure a proper paſſport.

ART. 6th. Veſſels of either party putting into the ports of the other, and having need of proviſions or other ſupplies, they ſhall be furniſhed at the market price. And if any ſuch veſſel ſhall ſo put in from a diſaſter at ſea, and have occaſion to repair, ſhe ſhall be at liberty to land and reimbark her cargo, without paying any duties. But in no caſe ſhall ſhe be compelled to land her cargo.

ART. 7th. Should a veſſel of either party be caſt on the ſhore of the other, all proper aſſiſtance ſhall be given to her and her people; no pillage ſhall be allowed, the property ſhall remain at the diſpoſition of the owners, and the crew protected and ſuccoured till they can be ſent to their country.

ART. 8th. If a veſſel of either party ſhould be attacked by an enemy, within gun-ſhot of the forts of the other, ſhe ſhall be defended as much as poſſible. If ſhe be in port, ſhe ſhall not be ſeized or attacked, when it is in the power of the other

party to protect her; and when ſhe proceeds to ſea, no enemy ſhall be allowed to purſue her from the ſame port within twenty-four hours after her departure.

Art. 9th. The commerce between the United States and Tripoli—the protection to be given to merchants, maſters of veſſels, and ſeamen—the reciprocal right of eſtabliſhing Conſuls in each country, and the privileges, immunities, and juriſdictions to be enjoyed by ſuch Conſuls, are declared to be on the ſame footing with thoſe of the moſt favoured nations reſpectively.

Art. 10th. The money and preſents demanded by the Bey of Tripoli, as a full and ſatisfactory conſideration on his part, and on the part of his ſubjects, for this treaty of perpetual peace and friendſhip, are acknowledged to have been received by him previous to his ſigning the ſame, according to a receipt which is hereto annexed, except ſuch part as is promiſed on the part of the United States to be delivered and paid by them on the arrival of their Conſul in Tripoli, of which part a note is likewiſe hereto annexed. And no pretence of any periodical tribute or further payment is ever to be made by either party.

Art. 11th. As the government of the United States of America is not, in any ſenſe, founded on the Chriſtian religion, as it has, in itſelf, nocharacter of enmity againſt the laws, religion, or tranquility of Muſſelmen—and as the ſaid States have never entered into any war or act of hoſtility againſt any Mahomedan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext ariſing from religious opinions, ſhall ever produce an interruption of the harmony exiſting between the two countries.

Art. 12th. In caſe of any diſpute, ariſing from a violation of any of the articles of this treaty, no appeal ſhall be made to arms, nor ſhall war be declared, on any pretext whatever. But if the Conſul reſiding at the place where the diſpute ſhall happen, ſhall not be able to ſettle the ſame, an amicable reference ſhall be made to the mutual friend of the parties, the

Dey of Algiers, the parties hereby engaging to abide by his decifion. And he, by virtue of his fignature to this treaty, engages for himfelf and his fucceffors, to declare the juftice of the cafe, according to the true interpretation of the treaty, and to ufe all the means in his power, to enforce the obfervance of the fame.

Signed and fealed at Tripoli of Barbary, the 3d day of Jumad, in the year of Hegira 1211, correfponding with the 4th day of November, 1796—by

(L. S.) JUSSUF BASHAW MAHOMET, Bey.
(L. S.) MAMET, Treafurer.
(L. S.) AMET, Minifter of Marine.
(L. S.) AMET, Chamberlain.
(L. S.) ALLY, Chief of the Divan.
(L. S.) SOLIMAN KAYA.
(L. S.) GALIL, General of the Troops.
(L. S.) MAHOMET, Commandant of the City.
(L. S.) MAMET, Secretary.

Signed and fealed at Algiers, the 4th day of Argil, 1211, correfponding with the 3d day of January, 1797, by

(L. S.) HASSAN BASHAW, Dey.

And by the Agent Plenipotentiary of the United States of America. (L. S.) JOEL BARLOW.

An alleged infraction of the 2d and 12th articles of this treaty, was the firft pretext which the Bafhaw of Tripoli made for evincing hoftile intentions towards the United States, which was not long after the treaty, and as early as in the year 1799, which will be feen by the following.

On the 9th of February, 1799, Mr. Cathcart and General Eaton arrived, from the United States, at Algiers, where Mr. O'Brian had been fome months before them. Some days were confumed here in arranging a general fettlement with Algiers, which being effected, they left that place on the 2d of March,

and arrived at Tunis on the 15th. Mr. Cathcart foon after embarked for, and arrived at Tripoli. General Eaton remained at Tunis.

Mr. CATHCART'S LETTERS.

Extract of a letter from James Leander Cathcart, to the Secretary of State, dated

TRIPOLI, *April* 18, 1800.

In confequence of the deceafe of our political father, I fent my drogoman to inform the Bafhaw, that the next day I fhould hoift the banners of the United States half-maft, the only token of refpect which I had in my power to pay to the manes of our much beloved patriot, intending to wait a proper opportunity to communicate to him your intimation. The Bafhaw fent me a very polite meffage, expreffing his concern for our lofs, and requefting to know if the Prefident had received his letter, which was forwarded by the Sophia. I anfwered in the affirmative, and ordered the drogoman to inform his excellency, that I would wait on him when he was at leifure.

In the evening he fent Farfara to inform me, that he was indifpofed, or would have been glad to fee me, and requefted, if I had any thing to impart, that I would communicate it to Farfara. I accordingly requefted him to exprefs to the Bafhaw, his excellency the Prefident's fatisfaction with the arrangements that took place laft year, and to affure him, that he had never confidered him as dependent upon either of the other regencies; that he had always treated him as an independent prince, and the government of the United States would always confider him with as much refpect, and treat him with the fame friendfhip, that they did the heads of the other regencies. Farfara returned with the following anfwer.

"His excellency the Bafhaw has defired me to requeft you to acquaint the Prefident of the United States, that he is ex-

ceedingly pleafed with his proffers of friendfhip; that the refpect which he has fhewn to his communication is really flattering; that had his proteftations been accompanied with a frigate or brig of war, fuch as we had given the Algerines, he would be ftill more inclined to believe them genuine; that compliments, although acceptable, were of very little value, and that the heads of the Barbary States knew their friends by the value of the prefents that they received from them."

It being too late for any anfwer that evening, I made fuch comments on the Bafhaw's meffage as might ferve to eradicate from the mind of the Jew, the moft diftant expectation, that the Prefident would ever make fo great a facrifice, which I informed him was entirely incompatible with the interefts of the United States.

Confidering it highly improper to delay giving a direct, explicit, and categorical anfwer to the Bafhaw's infinuation, I fent my drogoman to the caftle, to requeft an audience; I having previoufly formed a refolution, never to employ a third perfon, whenever the honour or intereft of my country was concerned. The drogoman informed me, that his excellency had feen Farfara, and if I had any further communication to make, to employ him, as he was very much indifpofed. Thus was I difappointed.

Farfara waited upon me in the afternoon, when I requefted him to inform the Bafhaw, that if he fuppofed that the cruifers which were fent by our government to Algiers, were given gratuitoufly, he had been mifinformed; that during our negociation laft year, I had acquainted him, that the frigate was given to that regency in lieu of cafh, for the ranfom of our citizens, which had been redeemed on credit, more than a year before her arrival; that the cruifers were built on commiffion, and paid for in cafh, out of the public treafury, and were not the property of the Dey, as he fuppofed; that I had copies of their accounts by me, which he fhould perufe, if he thought proper, whereby he would be informed of the mag-

nitude of his expectation, and the improbability of the United States having given them gratuitoufly; that I was fenfible how difagreeable it would be, to difappoint expectations, when once formed; I therefore found it my duty to prevent any taking place, in order to avoid the chagrin attending a pofitive refufal, which, from the nature of the requeft, muft naturally be expected from the Prefident of the United States.

The Bafhaw returned in anfwer, that he had concluded peace with the United States, for much lefs than he had received from other nations, and that he knew his friends by what he received from them.

I fhall, by no means, broach this fubject to the Bafhaw again, as I have hindered him from having any ground for expectation, and fhall continue to act in the fame manner, fhould he ever make it a topic of converfation, as he can have no pretext to make a demand, and only infinuates, that he expects fome mark of the Prefident's friendfhip, more fubftantial than compliments. I imagine it will be beft to take no further notice of it. The appearance of our frigates in the mediterranean will, I hope, eradicate any expectation that he may have flattered himfelf with, if any really exifts, and, until that period, believe me, Sir, our commerce will never be upon a refpectable footing in thefe feas.

Extract of a letter from the fame to the fame, dated
MAY 12, 1800.

GIVE me leave to inform you, in addition to mine of the 18th of April, a copy of which is enclofed with this difpatch, that on the 21ft of faid month a board of confuls were called by the Bafhaw, relative to the affairs of Sweden, in order to facilitate, as much as poffible, his depredations and unjuft demands upon that nation. As I have already forwarded to you the particulars of their laft arrangement, I at prefent

refer you to the copy of the certificate herewith enclofed for the refult. During the courfe of converfation the Bafhaw obferved, " that he never made reprifals on any nation, or declared war, but in confequence of their promifes not being fulfilled, or for a want of due refpect being fhewn him; that he conceived himfelf entitled to the fame refpect that was fhewn to the Bafhaws of Algiers and Tunis, but that fome nations gave more to the officers in each of thofe regencies than they had given to him for their peace." The laft remark was evidently pointed at the United States; but as it was made in general terms, I thought proper not to feem to underftand it, efpecially as I could fay very little more on the fubject than what I had already communicated to him through the agency of Signior Farfara.

" On the 2d of May a courier arrived from Tunis, which brought me the copies of your letters of the 15th of January, which arrived in the fhip Hero. Before I had time to read them, Farfara came and informed me that the Bafhaw wanted to fee me immediately. I afked him if he knew what his excellency wanted; he faid he did not; that he had received letters from Tunis, and feemed very much irritated. It being late in the evening I waited on him in difhabille, when the following converfation took place, which I have endeavoured to render verbatim.

" You have received letters from America: how were they brought to Tunis?"

In a veffel direct from America.

" What is her bufinefs at Tunis?"

She has brought the ftores ftipulated by treaty with that regency.

" What do they confift of?"

I do not know the particular articles which compofe her cargo, but it chiefly confifts of lumber and articles, fuch as were promifed to your excellency when our peace took place.

"What do your letters from your government contain?"

They are merely copies of what I had already received, the contents of which your excellency was informed by Farfara.

This being a favourable opportunity to know whether our broker had acted with candor, I repeated what was contained in mine of the 18th of April, and found by the Bashaw's answers (which were exactly what Farfara had before informed me) that he had acted honestly.

The Bashaw observed that the United States had made liberal presents to Algiers and Tunis, that he was informed of the particulars of all our negociations, that he even had a list of the cargo which had arrived at Tunis, that it was worth a *treasure*. "Why do not the United States send me a voluntary present? They have acted with me as if they had done every thing against their will. First they solicited the interference of the Dey of Algiers, in consequence of which I concluded a peace with them for almost nothing, in comparison to what I have received from other nations, I having received many favours from Hassan Bashaw, during the continuance of the revolution in this kingdom. They next made me wait more than two years before they sent their consul, and then he came without the stipulated stores. Nevertheless, in order to convince them of my good and friendly intentions, I accepted of the small sum of eighteen thousand dollars in lieu thereof, not doubting but they would be grateful enough to make me some return for my civility; but I have the mortification to be informed that they have now sent a ship load of stores to Tunis, besides promising a present of jewels; and to me they have sent compliments. But I have cruisers as well as Tunis, and as good Raizes and sailors. I am an independent prince as well as the Bashaw of Tunis, and I can hurt the commerce of any nation, as much as the Tunisians: Why then should so great a difference be made?"

From the tenor of the Baſhaw's harangue, I perceived that his aim was to intimidate me, to ſay ſomething that might hereafter be interpreted into a promiſe of a preſent, the value of which he would probably dictate himſelf. I therefore anſwered him as follows:—

"Whatever information your excellency has received relative to the value of the preſents or ſtores which have been given to Tunis, it has been amazingly exaggerated. We have never made any but what were ſtipulated by treaty, nor can we ever make voluntary preſents, it being incompatible with our form of government, the funds of the United States not being at the diſpoſal of the Preſident until an appropriation is made by an act of the legiſlature. The funds for carrying our treaty with Tripoli into effect are exhauſted, and laſt year your excellency wrote to the Preſident of the United States that you were contented with what you had already received. You, therefore, in juſtice, could not at preſent expect any thing from the United States, but a reciprocal tender of friendſhip. Had your excellency preferred the ſtores to caſh, and waited with patience until they were forwarded, as the Bey of Tunis has done, I am convinced they would have arrived long ere now. But at preſent, as the United States have fulfilled the ſtipulations of the treaty, they are not in arrears to this regency, and any demands upon them muſt naturally be very unexpected." The Baſhaw ſaid he would converſe with me on the ſubject at ſome other opportunity.

May 4th, the Siddi Mahomed Daguize, and Signior Farfara, came to the American houſe and informed me that the Baſhaw had ordered them to aſk me if I had taken any reſolution in conſequence of the converſation which I had with him on the 2d inſtant. I informed them that I had taken none whatever, and that it ſeemed unaccountable to me that his excellency ſhould expect any other anſwer after what I had informed him in their preſence; they ſtayed about an hour, during which time their converſation tended to perſuade me

that, confidering the Bafhaw's character, it was certainly the intereft of the United States to make a facrifice, that otherwife it would be impoffible to remain long on good terms with him. I made ufe of the fame arguments which I had done before. I, therefore, will not tire you with a repetition.

At 6, P. M. they returned, and informed that the Bafhaw was very much difpleafed, and had ordered them to acquaint me that he was informed that the Sahibtappa, at Tunis, had received more than forty thoufand dollars from the United States, in cafh, befides prefents; that he had received very little more, and that he had never imagined the United States meant to put him on an equality with one of the Bey of Tunis's minifters.

I obferved that the Bafhaw was mifinformed by his correfpondent, who, in order to ingratiate himfelf in his favour, had informed him of things which had never taken place; that he was giving himfelf, as well as them and me, a great deal of trouble, without any hopes of reaping the leaft benefit therefrom; that I requefted them to inform his excellency that I had not power to offer him a dollar, and that there were no funds in the United States appropriated for maintaining our peace with Tripoli, as we had carried our treaty into effect already; that he had wrote to the Prefident of the United States, the Dey of Algiers, and the Bey of Tunis, that he had fettled with the agent of the United States, and had received a cafh payment in lieu, and in full of all demands, and that he was content; that only three years and an half had elapfed fince our treaty commenced; that the firft year he had received 40,000 dollars in cafh, and the value of eight thoufand in prefents; that the fecond he had received 12,000 dollars, and that the laft year he had received 18,000, and prefents to the value of 4,000 more; that on the circumcifion of his fon, Siddi Aly, I had made him a prefent, fuperior to the prefents which were made him by the confuls of other nations on the fame occafion; that confequently the government of the U-

nited States were not deficient either in their refpect to him, or tokens of friendfhip, as he had received, in the fhort period of three years and an half, cafh and prefents to the amount of 83,000 dollars, exclufive of 10,000 meafures of grain which Haffan Bafhaw had made him a prefent of, in confequence of his having concluded a treaty with the United States, which was worth at Tripoli near 20,000 dollars more; that I was perfuaded that if his excellency would give himfelf the trouble to reflect on the circumftances which had taken place fince the commencement of the treaty between the United States and this regency, that he would not hefitate a moment in acknowledging the juftice and propriety of my obfervations.

In the evening the Bafhaw's emiffaries returned and informed me that they had encountered great difficulty in perfuading the Bafhaw to believe that the conful had not power to make him a prefent without an exprefs order from his government. His excellency faid that he had received many prefents from the confuls of other nations, and that their conduct had afterwards been approved. They obferved that the form of government of the United States was vaftly different from the government of every other nation, with whom his excellency was at peace: that he had a recent example that the powers of a conful were limited, in the refult of the Swedifh conful's negociation, he having arranged the affairs of his nation without receiving orders from his court; that he knew the confequence—his bills were protefted, he had received a fevere reprimand from the King of Sweden, and was immediately fufpended, and that his excellency might depend that the American conful would take care never to be reduced to a fimilar predicament, whatever might be the confequence of his non-compliance with his excellency's demand.

They further informed me that the Bafhaw had ordered them to requeft me to write to my government, to inform them that when he had wrote to the Prefident of the U. States he was contented with what he had received; that he really

was ſo, on a ſuppoſition that the preſents to him bore ſome proportion to thoſe that had been promiſed to Tunis; that at preſent he was informed to the contrary, and that he felt himſelf amazingly hurt when he conſidered that he had been treated with indifference, and that he never would be convinced that the friendſhip of the United States was ſincere, until there was a greater equality obſerved in their donations between the two nations, or, in other words, until he received ſome further marks of the Preſident's eſteem, more ſubſtantial than mere compliments. They ſaid that although the Baſhaw was inclined to credit the impoſſibility of the conſul's making him a preſent without orders from his court, that he likewiſe was ſenſible how much depended on the manner of his repreſentation, that he believed he had treated him with every reſpect ſince his arrival at Tripoli, and he requeſted I would write in ſuch terms as would inſure him from the mortification of being diſappointed, adding, this he expected from the conſul as he values my future favour and a happy reſult to the objects of his miſſion. I replied that the object contemplated by the U. States in ſending an agent the vaſt diſtance of near 6,000 miles, was to endeavour to maintain a friendly intercourſe between the two nations on honourable and equitable terms, that as it had pleaſed God to employ me as the inſtrument to promote ſo deſired an effect, he might reſt aſſured I ſhould take pleaſure in repreſenting *facts* for the conſideration of government in as favourable a manner as the dignity annexed to my office would admit, that as it would be the height of preſumption in me to dictate to the Preſident of the United States what he ought to do in the preſent caſe, ſo on the other hand, I by no means conſider it to be a part of my official duty in any means to oppoſe the liberal intentions of government, ſhould they be found diſpoſed to make him a preſent, but on the contrary, ſhould I receive orders to that effect, I would take pleaſure in executing them, but muſt again beg leave to repeat that the iſſue depended on them

only. They retired, promifed to make a faithful report to his excellency, protefted they would ufe their influence in favour of the U. States, and requefted me not to clofe my letters until I heard farther from the Bafhaw, either direct or thro' their agency.

May the 6th, I waited on the Bafhaw to pay my compliments to him, in confequence of the feftival; he treated me with great politenefs, but I could eafily difcern that it was againft his inclination; there was fomething in his countenance that indicated his fmiles were not fincere, and ought not to be depended on.

May the 10th, Farfara came to the American houfe, and informed me that the Bafhaw had concluded to write to the Prefident of the United States himfelf, as he entertained fome fufpicion that I would not write to government with fufficient energy; that the Bafhaw would fend me his letter the firft opportunity that fhould prefent, to forward it, which he hoped I had no objection to do. I replied, none in the leaft, and requefted Farfara to procure me a copy, if poffible, which he promifed to do. Having waited until the date of this difpatch, without having heard any thing more on the fubject, I haften to get my difpatches in readinefs to forward, by the firft conveyance. Should any thing intervene, worthy of notice, before I receive the Bafhaw's letter, it fhall be the fubject of another difpatch.

Extract of a letter from the fame, to the Secretary of State, dated,

MAY 27, 1800.

Since the date of the enclofed difpatch, I heard nothing from the Bafhaw, until the evening of the 25th inft. when Siddi Mahomed Daguize fent me the original in Arabic, of which the enclofed is a literal tranflation. The only conclufion

which can be drawn from the Baſhaw's proceedings, is, that he wants a preſent; and if he does not get one, he will forge pretences to commit depredations on the property of our fellow citizens. His letter to the Preſident will be the means of keeping him quiet, until he receives an anſwer, provided no unneceſſary delay is made, as he will expect to reap a benefit therefrom. Should government think proper to make him a preſent, it will have the deſired effect, probably, for one year, but not longer. I therefore can ſee no alternative but to ſtation ſome of our frigates in the Mediterranean, otherwiſe, we will be continually ſubject to the ſame inſults which the Imperials, Danes, Swedes, and Raguſans have already ſuffered, and will ſtill continue to ſuffer.

Tranſlated extract from a letter of the Baſhaw of Troipoli, to the Preſident of the United States, dated

May 25th, 1800.

After having cultivated the branches of our good will, and paved the way to a good underſtanding, and perfect friendſhip, which we wiſh may continue forever, we make known that the object and contents of this our preſent letter, is, that whereas, your conſul who reſides at our court in your ſervice, has communicated to us, in your name, that you have written to him, informing him, that you regarded the regency of Tripoli, in the ſame point of view as the other regencies of Barbary, and to be upon the ſame footing of friendſhip and importance. In order to further ſtrengthen the bonds of a good underſtanding, bleſſed be God, may he complete and grant to you his high protection. But, our ſincere friend, we could wiſh that theſe your expreſſions were followed by deeds, and not by empty words. You will therefore endeavour to ſatisfy us by a good manner of proceeding. We, on our part, will correſpond with you, with equal friendſhip, as

well in words as deeds. But if only flattering words are meant, without performance, every one will act as he finds convenient. We beg a fpeedy anfwer, without neglect of time, as a delay on your part cannot but be prejudicial to your interefts. In the mean time we wifh you happinefs.

Given in Tripoli, in Barbary, the 29th of the moon Hegia, the year of the Hegira 1214, which correfponds with the 25th of May, 1800.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Prefident of the United States of America. To the illuftrious and honourable Bey of Tripoli, of Barbary, whom God preferve.

GREAT AND RESPECTED FRIEND,

THE affurances of friendfhip which our conful has given you, and of our fincere defire to cultivate peace and commerce with your fubjects, are faithful expreffions of our difpofitions, and you will continue to find proofs of them in all thofe acts of refpect and friendly intercourfe, which are due between nations ftanding as we do in the relations of peace and amity with each other.

At the conclufion of our treaty with you, we endeavoured to prove our refpect for yourfelf, and fatisfaction at that event, by fuch demonftrations as gave you, then, entire content; and we are difpofed to believe, that in rendering into another language thofe expreffions in your letter of the 25th of May laft, which feem to imply purpofes inconfiftent with the faith of that tranfaction, your intentions have been mifconftrued. On this fuppofition we renew to you, fincerely, affurances of our conftant friendfhip, and that our defire to cultivate peace and commerce with you remains firm and unabated.

We have found it expedient to detach a fquadron of obfervation into the Mediterranean fea, to fuperintend the fafety of our commerce there, and to exercife our feamen in nautical

duties. We recommend them to your hofpitality and good offices, fhould occafion require their reforting to your harbours. We hope their appearance will give umbrage to no power; for, while we mean to reft the fafety of our commerce on the refources of our own ftrength and bravery, in every fea, we have yet given to this fquadron in ftrict command to conduct themfelves towards all friendly powers with the moft perfect refpect and good order: it being the firft object of our folicitude to cherifh peace and friendfhip with all nations with whom it can be held on terms of equality and reciprocity.

I pray God, very great and refpected friend, to have you always in his holy keeping.

Written at the city of Wafhington, the twenty-firft day of May, in the year of our Lord one thoufand eight hundred and one.

(Signed) TH: JEFFERSON.

By the Prefident,

(Signed) JAMES MADISON, *Secretary of State.*

Extract of a letter from Mr. Cathcart to the Secretary of State, dated

TRIPOLI, *October* 18, 1801.

ON the 16th I waited upon the Bafhaw, in company with Captain Carpenter, to demand fatisfaction for the infult our flag had fuffered in having one of our veffels brought in here without any vifible caufe, her papers and paffport being in perfect order; and likewife to demand reftitution of property plundered from the brig.

The Bafhaw anfwered, that he had not given orders to the Raize to bring in American veffels; that he had broke him, and difmiffed him from his fervice, and then gave orders to the minifter of marine to have every article that was plundered from the brig returned.

The Bashaw then commenced thus—"Consul, there is no nation I wish more to be at peace with than your's; but all nations pay me, and so must the Americans." I answered—"we have already paid you all we owe you, and are nothing in arrears." He answered—"that for the peace we had paid him, it was true; but to maintain the peace we had given him nothing." I observed—"that the terms of our treaty were to pay him the stipulated cash, stores, &c. in full of all demands forever;" and then repeated nearly to the same effect as is contained in my dispatch of the 12th of May, which, to avoid repetition, I forbear inserting. The Bashaw then observed, that we had given a great deal to Algiers and Tunis, and that the Portuguese captain informed him, that when he passed by Algiers about the middle of last month, that he had seen an American frigate in the bay, which he supposed had brought more presents to the Dey—"Why do they neglect me in their donations; let them give me a stipulated sum annually, and I will be reasonable as to the amount?"

In answer to the first, I replied, that it was true that one of our frigates was at Algiers, being one of a squadron of three 44 gun ships, and some smaller vessels, which were appointed to protect our commerce in the Mediterranean; but whether they had presents on board for the regency of Algiers, or not, I could not inform him; that some of them would have been at Tripoli before now, had I not informed them that they had better stay away until the spring, upon account of the badness of this road, which renders it very unsafe at this season. And in answer to his proposal of an annuity, I replied, with some warmth, exactly what I had requested Daguize to inform him of in my name yesterday evening. "Well then," replied the Bashaw, "let your government give me a sum of money, and I will be content; but paid I will be one way or other. I now desire you to inform your government, that I will wait six months for an answer to my letter to the President; that if it did not arrive in that period, and if it was not satisfactory, if

it did arrive, that I will declare war in form againſt the United States; inform your government," ſaid he, "how I have ſerved the Swedes, who concluded their treaty ſince your's; let them know that the French, Engliſh and Spaniards, have always ſent me preſents from time to time to preſerve their peace, and if they do not do the ſame, I will order my cruiſers to bring their veſſels in whenever they can find them."—He then turned to Daguize and told him to explain to Capt. Carpenter what he had informed me, (they both ſpeaking French) and added, "that he did not wiſh to make it a private affair between the conſul and him, and deſired him to make it public, as he wiſhed the whole world to know it; he then told Daguize to tell the captain that he hoped the United States would not neglect him, as ſix or eight veſſels of the value of his would amount to a much larger ſum than he ever expected to get from the United States for remaining at peace; beſides, ſaid he, I have a great deſire to have ſome captains like you here to learn me to ſpeak Engliſh."

I anſwered, that it was abſolutely impoſſible for me to receive anſwers to the letters, which he deſired me to write by Captain Carpenter, in ſix months, as it would be nearly that time before he would get home, upon account of the winter ſeaſon; that I expected his excellency would wait until the anſwer arrived, let that be long or ſhort; and obſerved, that none but thoſe who held a correſpondence with the Devil could determine whether he would be content with the Preſident's anſwer, or not; as neither the Preſident nor myſelf knew what would content him. I, therefore, requeſted him to inform me explicitly what was his expectations. To the firſt he anſwered—"I will not only wait for anſwers from your Preſident, but I will now detain the brig and write to him again—but I expect when he ſends his anſwers that they will be ſuch as will empower you to conclude with me immediately—if they are not, I will capture your veſſels; and as you have frequently informed me that your inſtructions

do not authorize you to give me a dollar, I will, therefore, not inform you what I expect until you are empowered to negociate with me; but you may inform your Prefident, that if he is difpofed to pay me for my friendfhip I will be moderate in my demands." The Bafhaw then rofe from his feat and went out of the room, leaving me to make what comment I thought proper upon his extraordinary conduct.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Cathcart to the Secretary of State, dated

TRIPOLI, *January* 4, 1801.

ON the 2d inft. in the evening, the banners of Sweden, by the Bafhaw's requeft, were hoifted upon the Danifh houfe, and a temporary flag-ftaff was prepared in order that the cuftomary falute fhould be fired next day. When a peace takes place with any nation, it is cuftomary for the different confuls to congratulate the Bafhaw on the event; you may judge with what a grace I performed a ceremony fo repugnant to my feelings—but it was neceffary. I accordingly waited upon his excellency in company with the Danifh conful, Swedifh ex-conful, Mr. Bohrftrom, the prefent conful, and feveral others; after congratulation, perfumation, fumigation, and drinking of coffee and fherbet were over, commenced the following litigation:—"I have concluded a peace with the Swedes," commenced the Bafhaw, "and I am certain that the king of Sweden is fenfible that I was forced to declare war againft his nation contrary to my inclination; for had my demands been fatisfied in the firft inftance, I fhould not have captured their fhips and enflaved their people; fome nations," added he, (meaning the U. S.) "have ufed me very ill; they look upon me as nothing; they have recourfe to Algiers for all things; I fhould be glad to know which is thought moft of at Conftantinople?" I could eafily have folved that doubt, by faying that the Dey of Algiers had lately fent

presents to the Grand Signior, to the amount of a million of dollars, which were powerful arguments in his favour; but as the conversation was general, I did not conceive it more incumbent on me to answer his prologue than any of the rest of the company; and, in fact, I could say nothing but what I have communicated already. The Bashaw observing my silence, directed his discourse to me, and asked me if I understood the Arabic and Turkish languages: I answered that I had a trifling knowledge of them, but spoke them so miserably that I never used any of them, especially as his excellency and ministers all spoke Italian. "Pray," says the Bashaw, "what was the present Dey of Algiers in the reign of Mahomed Bashaw?" I answered that he was a person very much respected in consequence of his being the cousin of Hassan Bashaw, but had no post whatever. "And pray, what was Hassan Bashaw at that time?" First, he was *bik ilharche* of the marine, and afterwards was made prime minister and treasurer in Algiers, called the Hasnagi. The Bashaw turned up his nose with visible signs of contempt, and was going to proceed, when a person informed him that a piece of timber was not to be found in the whole regency large enough to make a flag-staff for the Swedes, unless they took one of the cruisers spars. "It is a difficult thing" says the son of Ali Bashaw, "to get a flag-staff put up when it once comes down; when the American flag-staff comes down, it will take a great deal of grease, (meaning money) "to get it up again; the Danish flag-staff is broke, I hear, and wants mending with a new one." He smiled a ghastly *grin*, and said, "after all, what is twenty thousand dollars a year for a Christian nation to pay, that has such vast resources. Had I enough to live on, I would not trouble myself with cruisers, although my subjects always wish war, because it is to their advantage.— How many Raizes," added he, "have I that know the way to the Great Sea?" Admiral Morad answered about twenty.— There not being I believe one capable but himself, without his

accompanying them, ſhews that the Baſhaw and his officers pay no great regard to truth. "Well," replied his excellency, "I will find them veſſels—in Tripoli, conſul, we are all hungry, and if we are not provided for, we ſoon get ſick and peeviſh." As the Baſhaw ſpoke in metaphors, I anſwered him in the ſame manner, by ſaying, that when the chief phyſician preſcribed the medicine, I ſhould have no objection to adminiſter the doſe; but until then, I could ſay nothing on the ſubject.—"Take care," anſwered the Baſhaw, "that the medicine does not come too late; and if it comes in time, that it will be ſtrong enough."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Cathcart, to the Secretary of State, dated

TRIPOLI IN BARBERY, *May* 16, 1801.

THIS evening (10th May) at 6, P. M. Hadgi Mahomude la Sore, the ſame that went to Algiers in the Hamdullah, came to the American houſe, and told me not to be alarmed, for the Baſhaw had ſent him to inform me, that he declared war againſt the United States, and would take down our flag-ſtaff on Thurſday the 14th inſtant; that if I pleaſed to remain at Tripoli, I ſhould be treated with reſpect, but if I pleaſed I might go away. I ſent my compliments to the Baſhaw and informed him that it was my poſitive inſtructions not to remain an inſtant after a declaration of war took place, and that I ſhould charter a veſſel to-morrow if poſſible.

Thurſday 14th, at 1, P. M. Hadgi Mahomude la Sore came to inform me that the Chavaux were coming to take our flag-ſtaff down. I waited until the Saraſkier arrived, and then ſent ſaid la Sore to offer him 10,000 dollars in addition to what I had already offered, which was rejected by the Baſhaw, and orders given to cut away the flag-ſtaff.

At a quarter paſt 2 they effected the grand achievement, and our flag-ſtaff was chopped down ſix feet from the ground,

and left reclining on the terrace. Thus ends the firſt act of this tragedy. I hope the cataſtrophe may be happy.

Extract of a letter from William Eaton, Eſq. Conſul of the United States at Tunis, to the Secretary of State, dated

TUNIS, *December* 8, 1800.

ON the 25th ult. after having diſpatched duplicates of my letter from the 1ſt to the 16th, it was intimated to me that there was an American ſhip in the road of Porto Farino. Inſtantly I ſent off an expreſs to enquire for facts On the 27th, I received a note from Captain Coffin, of the Anna Maria, informing me that he had been ten days in the road, without being able to communicate with the ſhore, by reaſon of the weather, which was extremely bad. On the 28th, I asked a boat of the Bey, to board her, which he ſaid ſhould be ready on the 30th. Accordingly, on the 30th, I embarked at Tunis, in an open boat, and arrived on board, ten leagues, at eight in the evening of the ſame day. On the morning following, 1ſt Dec. I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 30th Auguſt, covering an invoice and bills of the ſhip's lading. Yeſterday I returned to Tunis. Such part of the cargo as was between decks was chiefly diſcharged before I left the ſhip. The *quality* of the articles are acknowledged to be good; but it is objected that the *plank* and the *oars* are *too ſhort*, and the government affect to be diſſatisfied; that the keels, guns, and powder, are not come forward. I believe the fact to be, the government is diſſatisfied that any thing is come forward. If this opinion requires evidence, I conſider it ſufficient to ſtate, that the United States are the only nation which have, at this moment, a rich unguarded commerce in the Mediterranean, and that the Barbary regencies are *pirates*. I take to myſelf the merit of having once more, at leaſt, ſuſpended an expedition which was prepared for us—but we are yet deficient, and I am not without apprehenſion that this deficiency will be reſorted to

as a pretext for furprifing our merchantmen; in which cafe they might do us incalculable mifchief. Thefe are confiderations which, it is fuppofed, fhould compel exertions to fulfil our obligations with this regency.

The immenfe conceffions he has received the fummer paft from Spain, Denmark, Sicily, Sweden, have fo diminifhed the condition of our peace in his eye, that he fays, *It is a trifle for fo great a commercial nation, in confideration for the advantages of a free trade in this fea.*

To all whom it doth or may concern:

KNOW YE, by thefe prefents, that I, James Leander Cathcart, agent and conful for the Uuited States of America, in and for the city and regency of Tripoli in Barbary, finding juft caufe to complain of Jufef Bafhaw, fupreme commandant of faid city and regency of Tiipoli, and his minifters, towards the government and citizens of the United States of America, and conceiving it my duty to proteft againft faid conduct: NOW KNOW YE, that I do hereby proteft agaift the faid Jufef Bafhaw, fupreme commandant of faid city and regency, and againft his minifters and counfellors, in behalf of the government of the United States of America, myfelf and fellow-citizens, for the following reafons, viz.

1ft. BE IT KNOWN, that on the 17th of Auguft, 1799, faid Jufef Bafhaw, fupreme commandant of the regency of Tripoli, at the inftigation of Morad Raiz, admiral of the cruifers of this regency, refufed to receive the printed paffports iffued by the conful of the United States of America in this regency, in obedience to his orders from government, thereby claiming a fuperiority or preference to the regencies of Algiers and Tunis, he being duly informed that the faid paffports were accepted in the fame form by the chiefs of faid regencies, and in order as is my firm belief to have a pretext to fend the merchant veffels

belonging to the citizens of the United States, into this port for examination, ſaid admiral Morad having publicly declared that he would go to ſea with the veſſels under his command, without any paſſport from this office, if they were not modified to his liking, and worded ſimilar to the paſſports of the Britiſh; and the ſaid Juſef Baſhaw, on application being made by the ſaid conſul of the United States, refuſing to exert his authority, is a clear and ſufficient evidence, that he was acceſſary to the inſolent demand of ſaid Morad, or more properly ſpeaking, that ſaid Morad acted, if not by his orders, at leaſt with his tacit conſent, thereby forcing the ſaid conſul of the United States to deviate from his inſtructions and to ſubmit from imperious neceſſity to a humiliation incompatible with the honour and dignity of the nation he has the honour to repreſent.

2d. Be it known, that in the month of October, 1799, James Leander Cathcart, conſul for the United States of America in this regency, having received ſeveral bales of cloth to diſpoſe of, that ſaid Juſef Baſhaw ſent the broker, Leon Farfara, to the conſular houſe, requeſting ſaid conſul to give him the preference in the ſale of ſaid cloth, promiſing to pay for the ſame like any other individual, and as cloths were ſold of the ſame quality. I, knowing how he had ſerved the late Venetian and Swediſh conſuls on a ſimilar occaſion, ſent ſaid Leon Farfara to inform him, that the cloth was not mine, and that I expected to be paid immediately, in order to be enabled to make a remittance to my correſpondent, which he the ſaid Baſhaw promiſed to do; I, therefore, confiding in his promiſe, which I was taught to believe was ſacred to all true Muſſulmen, and more eſpecially to a prince of the auguſt family of Caramanly, did deliver unto him ſundry pieces of cloth, to the value of five thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty ſeven yuſlicks, current coin of this regency, which at that time was worth Spaniſh dollars, two thouſand three hundred and fourteen, and eighty cents, two yuſlicks and one half being then equal to one dollar ſilver; but at preſent the coin of this regency having depre-

ciated, owing to the great quantity of alloy mixed in the coinage, a dollar paſſes for three yuſlicks, which makes a difference of one fifth part or 20 per cent. that I have repeatedly demanded the above ſum, and have always been put off from time to time with promiſes, until the 22d day of September, 1800, when ſome oil belonging to ſaid Baſhaw being ſelling at public vendue, I ſent my drogoman to purchaſe a barrel for the uſe of my houſe, value about eighteen dollars, which the haſnadar refuſed to give unto him, unleſs I ſent the money to pay for it firſt. I ſent the drogoman immediately to the Baſhaw to know the reaſon, who repeated the ſame words, ſaying the oil was not his, but belonged to the crew of the cruiſers; that if I wanted oil I muſt firſt ſend the caſh. I immediately ſent for Farfara, who had acted as broker in the ſale of the cloth, and deſired him to demand a poſitive anſwer from the Baſhaw, whether he intended to pay me or not; that I was reſolved to be kept no longer in ſuſpenſe, and offered to take the money at the preſent value, which is only 1929 dollars, in full of all demands; the Baſhaw ſent the ſame anſwer which he had ſent above fifty times before, that he would pay me, but at preſent it was not convenient, and deſired Leon Farfara to inform me, that if I had a mind I might take one of the Swediſh prizes for my money, which I declined. Knowing that he, having a quantity of prizes and other goods on hand for exportation, that he would probably force me to take a cargo of ſaid goods to Leghorn or elſewhere, thereby expoſing the United States to become reſponſible for ſaid goods or their value, ſhould any accident happen to ſaid veſſel, in the ſame manner as the claim originated upon Sweden, which was the firſt and principal cauſe of the preſent war, I therefore have deemed it more expedient to entirely loſe the aforementioned ſum, than to run a riſque which might involve my country in a war.

And, as it appears from the above detail, that the ſaid Baſhaw never intends to pay me the above ſum in caſh, according to agreement, notwithſtanding I have his receipt or promiſſory

note, under the great feal of this regency, and I having waited above one year for the payment of the faid fum without effect, I therefore debit the United States the faid fum in my account current, leaving the government of the faid United States to make the faid claim a national claim; no individual being bound to be refponfible for the arbitrary acts of the chiefs of the Barbary States; at the fame time making myfelf refponfible to the United States for faid fum, or any part thereof which may be recovered from faid Jufef Bafhaw hereafter.

3d. Be it known, that in the months of May, September, and October, 1800, the faid Jufef Bafhaw, fupreme commandant of the faid regency of Tripoli, having made certain demands upon the United States, in direct violation of the 10th article of the treaty exifting between the United States of America and the regency of Tripoli, which the conful of the United States refident here found incompatible with the honour and intereft of the nation he reprefents to comply with, that the faid Jufef Bafhaw, in direct violation of the 12th article of the faid exifting treaty, did publicly declare, that he would only wait until he receives anfwers from the Prefident of the United States of America, which, if not fatisfactory, that he would then declare war againft faid United States, as is more fully explained in my difpatches to government, copies of which were forwarded to our confuls at Algiers and Tunis. And whereas it is particularly fpecified in the 10th article of faid treaty, that the money and prefents demanded by the Bey or Bafhaw of Tripoli, is a full and fatisfactory confideration on his part, and on the part of his fubjects, for faid treaty of perpetual peace and friendfhip, and that no pretence of any periodical tribute or farther payment is ever to be made by either party; and faid Bafhaw of Tripoli having acknowledged the receipt of the money and prefents ftipulated by faid treaty, I find myfelf juftifiable both to God and my country in having refufed to comply with the faid Bafhaw's unjuft demands upon faid United States of America.

And whereas, it is ftipulated in the 12th article of the aforefaid treaty, that in cafe any difpute arifes from a violation of any of the articles of faid treaty, no appeal fhall be made to arms, nor fhall war be declared on any pretence whatever; but if the conful refiding at the place where the difpute fhall happen, fhall not be able to fettle the fame, an amicable reference fhall be made to the mutual friend of both parties, the Dey of Algiers; the parties thereby engaging to abide by his decifion; and he, by virtue of his fignature to the faid treaty, having engaged for himfelf and his fucceffors to declare the juftice of the cafe according to the true interpretation of the faid treaty, and ufe all the means in his power to enforce the obfervance of the fame:—

Now, know all men by thefe prefents, that I, James Leander Cathcart, conful for the United States of America, in faid regency of Tripoli, do proteft and declare, that the demands, made by the Bafhaw of Tripoli upon the United States of America, are of fuch a nature, that I cannot fettle the difpute arifing therefrom; and that I conceive that I fhould not only be deviating from my official duty, but likewife acting as an accomplice and in conjunction with the faid Bafhaw of Tripoli, to treat our good friends, the Dey and Divan of Algiers, with indignity and difrefpect, was I to refrain from making the aforefaid amicable reference. I, therefore, in virtue of thefe prefents, do make the aforefaid amicable reference, tranfmitting the whole to the conful-general of the U. S. of America at Algiers, who is poffeffed of every information relative to the ftate of our affairs in this regency, having received duplicates of my difpatches for the government of the U. States; at the fame time leaving it at the difcretion of the conful-general of the United States at Algiers for the time being, to take fuch meafures as he in his judgment may think moft likely to promote the interefts of the United States, and to maintain the peace of our country with this regency upon honourable and equitable terms.

4th. BE IT KNOWN, That on the 25th of September, 1800, Raiz Amor Shelli, commander of a Tripoline cruiser of 18 guns, captured the American brig Catharine, James Carpenter, master, of and from New-York, and bound to Leghorn, valued at 50,000 dollars, or thereabouts; that said vessel was kept in possession of the subjects of Tripoli, until the 15th of October in the evening, and was then delivered up to the consul of the United States, in consequence of the Bashaw of Tripoli having wrote a letter to the President of the United States, the purport of which, being already known, needs no repetition; and that said vessel was exposed to much loss and peril, as appears by the master of said brig, his protest, already forwarded to our consul-general at Algiers; and that said brig was plundered of effects, valued by said master, James Carpenter, at 397 hard dollars, whereof was recovered to the value of 180 dollars, the value of 217 dollars being irrecoverably lost; notwithstanding the Bashaw had given positive orders to Hamet Raiz, or minister of marine, to cause every article that could be found to be restored to their lawful owner; yet said Raiz of the marine did not comply with the Bashaw's orders; (and he being the Bashaw's brother-in-law, it was out of my power to compel him) but, on the contrary, prevaricated from day to day, from the 16th to the 21st of October, with an intent, no doubt, to share the spoils with the aforesaid Raiz Amor Shelli, and on the night of the 21st inst. sent Ibram Farfara to inform me, that if the brig did not sail by day-light in the morning, that the port would be embargoed; and gave me to understand that if I did not promise to pay him anchorage for said brig, that she should be detained until the embargo should be taken off. This demand I absolutely refused to comply with. On the 22d, at day-light, I ordered the brig to get under way, and could not get the Pilot to go on board until said Ibram Farfara paid the Raiz of marine 5 dollars and 75 cents anchorage, which, notwith-

ſtanding it being an unjuſt demand, I complied with, ſooner than have the brig detained one day longer.

I, therefore, for foreſaid reaſons, and for each of the aforementioned arbitrary acts, do proteſt againſt the foreſaid Juſef Baſhaw, ſupreme commandant of the regency of Tripoli in Barbary, and againſt his miniſters and counſellors; but more eſpecially againſt ſaid Morad Raiz, admiral of the cruiſers of this regency, for being the cauſe of my altering the national paſſports of the United States of America; and againſt ſaid Hamet Raiz, or miniſter of marine, for the reaſons before mentioned, as well as for falſely, inſidiouſly, and ſlanderouſly aſſerting in my preſence, and in the preſence of Captain Carpenter, that the conſul-general of the United States, Richard O'Brien, and the broker or banker of ſaid United States, Micaiah Cohen Bacri, had informed him, when he was laſt at Algiers, that the government of the United States had alone paid to the houſe of Bacri & Co. one hundred thouſand dollars for their influence, thereby irritating the ſaid Juſef Baſhaw againſt the government and citizens of the United States of America; as the ſaid Juſef Baſhaw ſeemingly gave credit to the falſehood of ſaid Hamet Raiz, and emphatically ſaid that the government of the United States had treated an Algerine Jew better, and with more liberality, than they had the ſaid Baſhaw of Tripoli, notwithſtanding I gave the direct lie without ceremony or heſitation to ſaid Hamet, and told the Baſhaw that I wondered how he could give credit to ſo barefaced a falſehood, for even had the United States given the abovementioned ſum, the party concerned would be the laſt people in the world to divulge the ſame, it not comporting with their honour or intereſt, eſpecially to Hamet Raiz, who was not only an enemy to the United States, but likewiſe to his excellency the Baſhaw of Tripoli, he having by his falſe inſinuations endeavoured to perſuade the Baſhaw to annul the treaty of peace and amity at preſent ſubſiſting between the ſaid United States and this regency, to the prejudice of his character, hon-

our, and dignity, whofe word and fignature I had always fuppofed to have been inviolably facred; and that faid Jufef Bafhaw, in anfwer to the above, faid, "you fay that Hamet Raiz *lies*, and I fay he tells truth;" thereby difcrediting all I had faid, and giving full credit to the impofition of faid Hamet Raiz, or minifter of marine.

Now know all men, That for the reafons afore affigned, I, James Leander Cathcart, agent and conful for the United States of America, in the regency of Tripoli, having fhewn fufficient caufe to enter this proteft againft the faid Jufef Bafhaw, fupreme commandant of the regency of Tripoli, his afore-mentioned minifters and counfellors, I do by thefe prefents moft folemnly proteft againft the conduct of faid Jufef Bafhaw, his minifters and counfellors, as being unjuft and in direct violation of the 10th and 12th articles of the exifting treaty between the United States and the faid regency of Tripoli; and I, James Leander Cathcart, do further declare, that the difpute arifing from the violation of faid treaty, is of fuch a nature, that I cannot adjuft the fame before I receive exprefs inftructions from the Prefident of the United States of America, or until our good friends, the Dey and Divan of Algiers fhall decide upon the juftice of the caufe, according to the true interpretation of the exifting treaty between the United States of America and this regency; and that I do hereby make an amicable reference to our good friends the Dey and Divan of the regency of Algiers, promifing in the name of the United States of America, to abide by their decifion agreeable to the true meaning of the ftipulation contained in the 12th article of the treaty of peace and amity concluded between the United States of America and the regency of Tripoli, by the intervention of the late Haffan Bafhaw, Dey of Algiers, and under the immediate guarantee of faid regency, the faid treaty having been duly ratified by the reigning Dey of Algiers, Muftapha Bafhaw, whom God preferve.

Now I, James Leander Cathcart, agent and conſul of the United States of America, conceiving it my duty ſo to do, do now tranſmit this ſaid proteſt to the Chancery of the United States at Tunis, in order that it may be there duly regiſtered, and from thence forwarded to the conſul-general of the United States of America at Algiers, in order to prevent, as much as depends upon me, any appeal being made to arms, leaving the conducting of the whole affair entirely at the diſcretion of the conſul-general of the United States of America for the time being, as before mentioned, not doubting but he will take ſuch meaſures as he in his judgment may think moſt likely to promote the intereſts of the United States of America and maintain the peace of our country with this regency upon honourable and equitable terms.

In teſtimony of the above, I have hereunto ſubſcribed (L. S.) my name and affixed the ſeal of my office, at the Chancery of the United States of America, in the city of Tripoli in Barbary, this 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand eight hundred; and in the 25th year of the independence of the United States of America.

(Signed) JAMES L. CATHCART.

IN the Spring of 1801, the abſolute threats of the Baſhaw of Tripoli to commence hoſtilities againſt the United States, induced our Executive to ſend a ſmall ſquadron into the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Dale. The following were his orders.—

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Commodore Dale, dated

MAY 30, 1801.

RECENT accounts received from the conſul of the United States, employed near the regencies of Algiers, Tunis and

Tripoli, give caufe to fear, that they will attack our commerce, if unprotected, within the Mediterranean; but particularly fuch apprehenfion is juftified by abfolute threats on the part of the Bey of Tripoli.

Under fuch circumftances, it is thought probable, that a fmall fquadron of well appointed frigates appearing before their ports, will have a tendency to prevent their breaking the peace which has been made, and which has fubfifted for fome years, between them and the United States. It is alfo thought, that fuch a fquadron, commanded by fome of our moft gallant officers, known to be ftationed in the Mediterranean, will give confidence to our merchants, and tend greatly to increafe the commerce of the country, within thofe feas.

I am, therefore, inftructed by the Prefident to direct, that you proceed with all poffible expedition, with the fquadron under your command, to the Mediterranean. It will be proper for you to ftop at Gibraltar and obtain permiffion from the governor for depofiting provifions there, for the ufe of your fquadron. It is not prefumed there will be any refufal; but, fhould he deem it improper, you will then leave a letter with Mr. Gavino, the American conful, for the captain of the provifion veffel that will be fent hereafter, directing him where to proceed.

On your arrival at Gibraltar, you will be able to afcertain whether all or any of the Barbary powers fhall have declared war againft the United States. In cafe all are tranquil, you will water your fhips, proceed off the port of Algiers, and fend to the conful, Mr. O'Brien, whom you will inform that you have arrived—that the views of your government are perfectly friendly—that you have a letter for him and the Dey—and that you requeft to fee him; or that he fend fome perfon, in whom he can confide, for the letters—or that he fend a permiffion for one of your officers to go to the city.—You will have on board certain goods, which you will deliver

on his requiſition. They are for the biennial preſents to the regency. The George Waſhington is preparing to carry timber and other ſtores for at leaſt one year's annuity; and you have on board the Preſident, thirty thouſand dollars, which it is hoped and expected Mr. O'Brien will be able to induce the regency to receive for another year. The balance may go ſome time hence. But if Mr. O'Brien cannot induce the Dey to receive money inſtead of ſtores, you will retain the thirty thouſand dollars, excepting 4 or 5,000 dollars, which, on Mr. O'Brien's requiſition, may (if he ſhould think it uſeful to commence with) be given him on your arrival, and which amount may be replaced, if the Dey ſhall afterwards agree to receive the 30,000 dollars in full for one year's annuity, out of the 10,000 dollars hereafter mentioned as being intended for the Bey of Tripoli, and the ſtores will be ſent as ſoon as poſſible.

When your buſineſs is arranged at Algiers, to your ſatisfaction, you will proceed to Tunis, and there cauſe the letters you carry to be delivered to Mr. Eaton, the conſul. A ſhip is preparing and will ſail as ſoon as poſſible, with ſtores, agreeable to treaty with that regency.

From thence you will proceed to Tripoli; on your arrival there ſend for Mr. Cathcart, American conſul for that port, to whom deliver his letters, and either by him or one of your officers (which ever may be deemed moſt proper) ſend the Preſident's letter to the Bey. You have on board ten thouſand dollars, as a preſent from the Preſident; the whole, or ſuch part thereof as you may have on your arrival at Tripoli, and which Mr. Cathcart may conceive uſeful, will be given the Bey, provided he has conducted himſelf peaceably towards the United States.

You will be careful not to ſolicit the honour of a ſalute from any of thoſe powers; if you do, they will exact a barrel of powder for every gun they fire.

You will enjoin upon your officers and men the propriety and utility of a proper conduct towards the subjects of all thofe powers. A good underftanding with them being extremely defirable.

Should you find the conduct of the Bey of Tripoli fuch as you may confide in, you will then coaft with your fquadron the Egyptian and Syrian fhores as far as Smyrna, and return by the mouth of the Adriatic—thence pay the Bey of Tripoli another vifit; finding him tranquil, proceed to Tunis, and again fhew your fhips; and thence coaft the Italian fhore to Leghorn, where you may ftay fome days, and then proceed along the Genoefe to Toulon, which port it will be inftructive to your young men to vifit. From thence proceed again to Algiers. If there fhould be no hoftile appearance on the part of thofe powers, and you fhould be well affured that no danger is to be apprehended from either of them, you may, on the 15th October, commence your return homewards; but if there fhould be any caufe for apprehenfion from either of thofe powers, you muft place your fhips in a fituation to chaftife them, in cafe of their declaring war or committing hoftilities, and not commence your return to the United States, until the 1ft day of December.

On your return you will go into Hampton Road, and repair yourfelf to this place as foon as you can. Order the Philadelphia to Philadelphia, if the feafon will permit; if not, let her go with the Effex to New-York—the Enterprize fend to Baltimore.

But fhould you find, on your arrival at Gibraltar, that all the Barbary powers have declared war againft the U. States, you will then diftribute your force in fuch manner, as your judgment fhall direct, fo as beft to protect our commerce and chaftife their infolence—by finking, burning, or deftroying their fhips and veffels wherever you fhall find them. The better to enable you to form a juft determination, you are herewith furnifhed with a correct ftate of the ftrength and fitua-

tion of each of the Barbary powers. The principal ſtrength, you will ſee, is that of Algiers. The force of Tunis and Tripoli is contemptible, and might be cruſhed with any one of the frigates under your command.

Should Algiers alone have declared war againſt the United States, you will cruize off that port ſo as effectually to prevent any thing from going in or coming out; and you will ſink, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy their ſhips and veſſels wherever you find them.

Should the Bey of Tripoli have declared war, as he has threatened, againſt the United States, you will then proceed direct to that port, where you will lay your ſhip in ſuch a poſition as effectually to prevent any of their veſſels from going in or out. The Eſſex and Enterprize, by cruiſing well on towards Tunis, will have it in their power to intercept any veſſels which they may have captured. By diſguiſing your ſhips, it will be ſome weeks before they will know that the ſquadron is cruiſing in the Mediterranean, and give you a fair chance of puniſhing them.

If Tunis alone, or in concert with Tripoli, ſhould have declared war againſt the United States, you will chaſtiſe them in like manner—by cruiſing with the ſquadron, from the ſmall iſland of Maratimo, near the iſland of Sicily, to cape Blanco, on the Barbary ſhore; you may effectually prevent the corſairs of either from intercepting our commerce in the material part of the Mediterranean ſea, and may intercept any prizes they may have made.

Any priſoners you may take, you will treat with humanity and attention, and land them on any part of the Barbary ſhore moſt convenient to you. This mode will be humane, and will ſhew that we have no ſort of fear, what ſuch men can do. It will alſo tend to bring thoſe powers back to a ſenſe of juſtice which they owe to us. But you will be careful to ſelect from them ſuch Chriſtians as may be on board, whom

you will treat kindly, and land, when convenient, on ſome Chriſtian ſhore. Should you have occaſion, you may accept their ſervices.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Dale, commanding the United States ſquadron in the Mediterranean, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

GIBRALTAR-BAY, *2d July,* 1801.

ON my arrival here I found, lying at anchor, the High Admiral of Tripoli, in a ſhip mounting 26 guns, nine and ſix pounders, 260 men; and a brig of 16 guns, 160 men. He has been out 36 days, ſays he is not at war with America, nor has he taken any thing. He came in here for water, and is under quarantine at preſent. From every information I can get here, Tripoli is at war with America.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Dale to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

TUNIS-BAY, *July* 18, 1801.

MR. O'BRIEN informed me, "that the Dey of Algiers had been complaining very much of the United States in not making their annual payments good, and had gone ſo far as to ſay, that he would not put up with it much longer. He was now confident, he ſaid, that the Dey would not ſpeak ſo big, and had no doubt that the arrival of the Preſident at Algiers had much more weight with the Dey, than if the Waſhington had arrived with ſtores. He did not think it a proper time to mention to the Dey, about receiving 30,000 dollars inſtead of ſtores." Mr. O'Brien took the cloth and linen on ſhore with him.

I arrived at Tunis-Bay the 17th inſtant, and ſent a letter on ſhore to Mr. Eaton; the 18th he came on board. The Eſſex and the ſhip Grand Turk arrived the ſame day. From Mr.

Eaton's information, this regency has been much in the ſame way as Algiers, and the appearance of our ſhips will have the ſame effect on the great and mighty Bey of Tunis.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Dale, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

MALTA HARBOUR, *Auguſt* 18, 1801.

I ARRIVED off Tripoli the 24th ult. the 25th, I received a letter from Mr. Niſſen, conſul for Denmark, at Tripoli; he was requeſted by Mr. Cathcart to act for him in his abſence, ſhould there be a neceſſity for it. The letter was wrote at the requeſt of the Bey, to know if my intentions in coming off Tripoli, were to make peace or war. I wrote him that my intentions in the firſt inſtance were friendly, but the act of his excellency in declaring war againſt the United States, had put that diſpoſition out of my power, and that I was determined to take his veſſels of every deſcription, and his ſubjects wherever I could find them; but at the ſame time I ſhould be glad to know his reaſons for declaring war, and on what principles he expected to make peace. That on thoſe points I wiſhed information as ſoon as poſſible, that I might inform the Preſident of the United States, and aſcertain his determination reſpecting the buſineſs. The next day the Bey ſent off a Jew to negociate for a peace or truce. I informed him, that his excellency had not anſwered my letter; that I was not empowered to make a new treaty, but if the Bey would anſwer my letter, and ſend off one of his officers, and was ſerious in the buſineſs, I would then treat with him about a truce. The Jew went on ſhore. I have not heard from him ſince. The Bey wrote me previous to this, that he had good reaſons for declaring war againſt the United States, but if I would come on ſhore, he was very certain we ſhould be able to make a peace. He ſaid he did not like the 1ſt and 12th articles in the old trea-

ty, and did not wiſh to have any thing to do with the Dey of Algiers.

I am happy to inform you that the Enterprize, on the 1ſt inſt. on her paſſage to this place, fell in with a polacre ſhip, mounting 14 guns and 80 men, a corſair belonging to Tripoli. The encloſed is a copy of Mr. Sterrett's letter to me, which will give you an account of the action and the reſult of it.—Mr. Sterrett is a very good officer, and deſerves well of his country. After being 18 days off Tripoli, and ſeeing nothing in that time but two ſmall veſſels, Tuniſians, one bound in and the other out, and receiving information that the Bey had boats ſtationed along the coaſt, both to the eaſtward and weſtward; on the 11th inſt. I determined to run along the coaſt, to the weſtward, as far as the iſland of Piduſſa, from Piduſſa to this place for water. I arrived here the 16th inſt. ſaw nothing on my paſſage.

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Andrew Sterrett, to Commodore Dale, dated on board the United States ſchooner Enterprize,

AT SEA, *Auguſt* 6, 1801.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on the 1ſt Auguſt, I fell in with a Tripolitan ſhip of war, called the Tripoli, mounting 14 guns, commanded by Raiz Mahomet Sous. An action immediately commenced within piſtol ſhot, which continued three hours, inceſſant firing. She then ſtruck her colours. The carnage on board was dreadful, ſhe having 20 men killed and 30 wounded; among the latter was the Captain and firſt Lieutenant. Her mizen maſt went over the ſide. Agreeable to your orders, I diſmantled her of every thing but an old ſail and ſpar. With heart-felt pleaſure I add, that the officers and men throughout the veſſel, behaved in the moſt

ſpirited and determined manner, obeying every command with promptitude and alertneſs. We had not a man wounded, and ſuſtained no material damage in our hull or rigging.

I remain your moſt obedient ſervant,

ANDREW STERRETT.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Dale, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

GIBRALTAR BAY, *October* 4, 1801.

HAVING completed my water on the 21ſt of Auguſt, I failed again. On the 30th I brought to a Greek ſhip, from Conſtantinople and Smyrna, bound into Tripoli, loaded with beans and merchandize, and having on board one Tripolitan officer, 20 ſoldiers, 14 merchants, 5 women, 4 of them black, and one white child, all Tripolitans: I took them all on board. I thought this a favourable opportunity to try to bring about, and ſettle an exchange of priſoners with the Bey, ſhould his corſairs take any Americans, (I ſay God forbid.) I accordingly ſent three of the Tripolitans on ſhore in a ſmall boat, with a letter to Mr. Niſſen, the Daniſh conſul, requeſting him to make known the contents of it to the Bey. The next day, Mr. Niſſen came off at the Bey's requeſt, to know if I would make a truce. Mr. Niſſen informed me, that he had told the Bey, before he came off, that he could not ſay any thing to me on that ſubject, until he had anſwered my letters on that point. The Bey told him to go off and try, and if I would, he would then talk to me about the exchange of priſoners, and a peace. My mind was made up on that ſubject, knowing I had no orders to make a truce, little was ſaid on that ſubject. Mr. Niſſen told me that the Bey ſaid, that he would not give one Americrn for all the ſoldiers, and that only eight of the merchants, were his ſubjects. He cared very little about any of them. At length, the Bey agreed to give three Americans for twenty-one ſoldiers, and three for the eight merchants.—

Circumftanced as I was, I was under the neceffity to act as I did, namely, to put them all on board the Greek fhip again, and permit them to go into port. I wrote to Mr. Niffen to inform the Bey, that I agreed to the exchange of three Americans for the foldiers, but I did not confider the merchants as prifoners, nor could I fix on any thing refpecting them, until I knew the determination of my government, and that the prefent tranfaction was not to be a precedent in any future negociation. This tranfaction took place on the 3d of September, the fhip's company then very fickly, 94 men on the doctor's lift, and a number more complaining, not knowing to what extent the ficknefs might go, and not having more than one month's provifion on board, at eight P. M. I was under the neceffity of coming to a determination to give up the blockade of Tripoli, and proceed for Gibraltar.

Mr. Gavino informed me about a month ago, that the Tripolitan Admiral had laid up his two corfairs here, and took his paffage, with eight of his officers, on board of an Englifh fhip bound to Malta; leaving the captain of the brig and 20 men, to take care of the two veffels, and bring the fhip home, if he had an opportunity; fent the remainder of his men over to Tetuan in boats.

I think it neceffary that two frigates fhould remain in thofe feas all the winter, under the prefent circumftances. The Philadelphia to rendezvous at Sarragofa, the fouth-eaft end of the Ifland of Sicily. I fhall give Capt. Barron orders to fhew himfelf off Tripoli and Tunis, every now and then, to let thofe fellows know and fee, that we are on the watch for them.— The Effex to rendezvous at Gibraltar and Algeziras, as may be moft convenient, to keep a good look out, and know what is going on in this quarter.

During this fummer, Mr. Cathcart and General Eaton conceived the project of co-operating with the exiled Bafhaw of Tripoli, who had been driven from his throne by his brother. Gen. Eaton fays—

About this time (28th June) I received a letter from Mr. Cathcart, dated at Leghorn, June 15th, which fuggefted to me the plan of ufing Hamet Bafhaw, the legitimate fovereign of Tripoli, then an exile in Tunis, as an inftrument, in favour of the United States, to chaftife the perfidy of our enemy, his younger brother, who had treafonably ufurped the government. I did not then enter decidedly into the meafure; doubting whether any conftruction of my original inftructions from government, would authorife the difcretion.

But, on the 17th July following, Commodore Dale arrived with his fquadron, at Portoforine, forty miles from Tunis; and on the 18th, on his board, he put into my hands the letter from the department of ftate, dated 20th May, preceding; which, by his difcretionary inftructions, removed that obftacle. This difcretion was highly proper at that time, and on that ftation. For Tunis may be faid, by a figure, to be a fcite on the enemy's flank, from which his whole camp may be reconnoitred whithout his having the means of preventing it; and from which he may be annoyed in his operations without the capacity of refiftance. I foon entered into convention with Hamet Bafhaw, conditioned, on his part, that, on his being reftored to his dominion, he fhould place the ufurper and family into our hands as hoftages of a perpetual peace. And I fketched the project to the department of ftate, in my report of 5th September following.

The moment of the appearance of a force on the Barbary coaft, was peculiarly favourable, both as it affected Tunis and Tripoli. It checked, for a moment, the arrogance of the former; and it gave a paralytic fhock to the latter. The enemy was fecurely calculating on the booty he expected from

American captures—he had no apprehenſions of a force ſo near him; and was conſequently unprepared to counteract its operations. His beſt corſairs, compriſing his chief naval force, and the choſen ſtrength of his Turkiſh ſoldiery, were either blockaded at Gibraltar, or were at ſea, not in a capacity to return immediately to his ſuccour. He had but a few guns, badly mounted, on his caſtle batteries; not ſoldiers to man them; and ſcarcely a centinal on their ramparts. His interior was agitated by diſſentions, and his capital diſtreſſed by famine. Of this laſt circumſtance, however, I was not informed till after the departure of the Commodore for his ſtation. It had been carefully concealed from me until the alarmed commerce of Tunis betrayed it in a demand of the Bey for my paſſports of ſafe conduct to his merchantmen bound to that port with proviſions. At once to ſeize the advantages which the occaſion offered, and to ſilence the Bey's demand for paſſports, which, if granted, would, according to Barbary's excluſive privileges, have covered the property at all events, I announced Tripoli in a ſtate of blockade, and diſpatched an expreſs veſſel to the commodore he with the information. He confirmed the blockade, pledged himſelf for its ſupport. Nine days afterwards appeared in the road of Tunis, on his way to Gibraltar, having quitted the enemy's coaſt by reaſon of ſickneſs in his ſhip. He left with me, however, a letter of inſtructions to keep up the idea of a blockade. On the eleventh, having ſprung a maſt, he appeared again in the bay with a ſignal to ſpeak the conſul—I went on board. He then ſtated to me that he, in fact, had no orders which would authorize him to act offenſively—nor yet to hold a priſoner he might take—that he had conſequently releaſed the crew of the corſair captured by Lt. Sterrett, as well as ſundry conſiderable merchants of Tripoli, who had fallen into his hands coming from Smyrna, on the Baſhaw's promiſe to give up ſeven Americans in exchange, when taken That he expected freſh inſtructions at Gibraltar;

believing that the information of the war had seasonably reached the United States; when he should return to Tripoli—he enjoined on me, at the same time, to keep up the colour of a blockade—I never saw the commodore afterwards; though I kept the enemy three months in a state of blockade when we had not a ship of war within three hundred leagues of his port; his chief commerce and whole supplies of provisions depending on Tunis, and my passports being still withheld.

The statement General Eaton here makes of the force and situation of Tripoli, I believe to be perfectly correct—for it was not much better defended at the time we were captured. The General further adds—

Being myself in a very imperfect state of health, from the convalescence of a fever, which had reduced me very low the preceding summer, my physician advised me to take a sea voyage. Accordingly I embarked in the United States transport, the George Washington, and proceeded to Leghorn.—The Bey of Tunis, immediately after my departure, demanded passports of my charge des affairs—who wrote me and received my answer.

On my arrival at Leghorn, the President's answer to the Bey's demand for forty 24 pound battery guns, came to hand, unsealed. It conveyed, in pretty explicit language, a resolution *no longer to owe to humiliating concessions our right to navigate the seas freely.*

This Mr. Cathcart and myself construed as assurance of the approbation of government to our measures; and as an encouragement to perseverance.

Being informed from Tunis, that overtures of reconciliation had been made by the ruling Bashaw of Tripoli to his exiled brother, it was resolved that I should return immediately to Tunis, in order to defeat his designs.

We now viewed the project with Hamet Bafhaw more effential to the object of effecting a peace than ever before. It was thought a very unfortunate circumftance that a conftruction of the conftitution fhould have prohibited Commodore Dale from receiving difcretionary orders on leaving the U. States for the expedition: the confequence certainly was, that the fair profpects which prefented themfelves on his firft arrival on the enemy's coaft, failed in execution—and that the expedition of 1801 effected nothing effential to the iffue of the war. The meafure of fetting the Tripolitan prifoners at liberty, which was calculated by benevolent experiment to move the gratitude of the Barbarian, operated, in effect, a quite different fentiment on his mind; for he attributed to fear thofe acts of generofity which a civilized enemy would have acknowledged proofs of magnanimity. His corfairs efcaped the vigilance of our fhips and got fafe home. About one hundred Swedifh captives were employed makig gun-carriages on the caftles, and in repairing their platforms and parapets. He had found means to procure fupplies of ammunition and a competence of provifion—and was now in a pretty good fituation of defence. If he fucceeded in getting poffeffion of his rival brother, it would relieve him from apprehenfions of an internal revolt, and would tend to render the terms of peace with the United States much more exorbitant; or the war, on his part, more active, and pernicious to our commerce.—There being no direct paffage to Tunis to be procured, it was thought advifable, both on account of difpatch and fafety, to embark in my own armed fhip Gloria—which I accordingly did, on the 28th February, and arrived March 12th. She was a new, well built Danifh fhip, of about 300 tons, captured by the Bey of Tunis, and finally abandoned by the Danifh negociator, which I had purchafed; but for which I was refufed a Mediterranean paffport on a conftruction of our law—in confequence of which I had mounted upon her deck

fourteen 12 and 6 pounders, and on her forecaſtle and quarter ſix ſmaller guns. On my arrival at Tunis I found Hamet Baſhaw actually on the point of departing for the kingdom of Tripoli, under the eſcort of forty armed Turks, ſent by the ruling Baſhaw for his *protection!* Deſpairing of the aids he had anticipated from the Americans—and refuſed further ſupplies of proviſions by the Bey of Tunis, he was compelled to this alternative. I reanimated his hopes and his proſpects; but he was watched by his eſcort, and finally conſtrained to embark in a Ruſſian ſhip for his paſſage. The Bey of Tunis now demanded my paſſports for him and his retinue; and renewed his demand for paſſports for his merchantmen to Tripoli. I refuſed to grant either one or the other. He became outrageous—threatened the nation with war, and myſelf with chains. I began to be apprehenſive of real danger, and was deſirous of communicating this ſtate of things to the commanding officer on the coaſt. There was no American veſſel of war near, and it would be improper and unſafe to confide this information to accidental conveyance.

There were then with me, at the American houſe, Doctor William Turner, and Mr. Charles Wadſworth, of the navy; and Captains George G. Coffin, and Joſeph Bounds, American maſters of merchantmen, whom I conſulted, and, with their advice, diſpatched the Gloria to the commanding officer, with a detail of facts; and ſuggeſted to him the exertions I thought requiſite to prevent the friendly Baſhaw falling into the enemy's hands, as well as to ſeize the Tripolitan ſoldiers who guarded him; and at the ſame time I requeſted he would give the Gloria a warrant to act under my orders till *the arrival of the commodore.*

The Gloria fell in with Capt. M'Niel, the only commander on the coaſt, three days after leaving port, who approved of my meaſures; ſent back the ſhip with his warrant to act, under my orders, offenſively againſt the Tripolitans, until the

arrival of the commodore; and went himſelf in ſearch of the Baſhaw.

Mean time I had wrought upon the Bey's miniſter to countenance and aid my project, in conſideration of my promiſe to give him ten thouſand dollars on condition of *his fidelity, and in caſe of its ſucceſs*. I thought it good policy to ſecure the miniſter; not ſo much for the ſervice he would render, as to check the miſchief which ſeemed impending. He confeſſed it was the intention of the enemy Baſhaw, by this illuſive overture, to get poſſeſſion of the rival brother, in order to deſtroy him; and he permitted my drogoman, under an injunction of ſecrecy, to communicate the deſign to Hamet Baſhaw. This determined him to go to Malta under a pretext to his people of evading the Swediſh and American cruiſers. He arrived ſafely—diſmiſſed his eſcort, and reported himſelf to me.

Having now gained what I conſidered the moſt important point in our plan, the ſecurity of the friendly Baſhaw, I immediately diſpatched the Gloria to convey the intelligence to our commodore and to the government.

The ſhip arrived ſeaſonably at Gibraltar; but what was my aſtoniſhment to learn that, inſtead of meeting there a ſquadron, prepared to ſeize this advantageous poſition, to find a ſolitary captain of a frigate, juſt from his counting-houſe, ready to ſtamp defeat, and paſs cenſure on a meaſure, the ground of which he could not have ſurveyed! Captain Murray diſcarded this project, and diſmiſſed my ſhip in a manner moſt injurious and moſt diſgraceful to me; but proceeded himſelf to Tunis, where he arrived early in June, and tarried ſix days with me without intimating any thing of his proceeding at Gibraltar, though he expreſſed his diſſent to the plan concerted with Hamet Baſhaw. The Gloria arrived a day or two after the Conſtellation's departure. But a general diſcontentment prevailed among the crew. Two of them had been

taken off by Captain Murray at Gibraltar; two or three others deferted after arrival at Tunis; and all were unwilling to go to fea, it being known that fundry cruifers of the enemy were out.

During thefe tranfactions, it appears, the Sapatapa had betrayed to the ruling Bafhaw the plot of his brother with the Swedes and Americans to dethrone him. The Swedifh admiral had embraced the project, and entered into fome arrangements with Captain M'Niel to give it effect; but waited the arrival of the American fquadron—for as an offenfive and defenfive alliance was underftood to exift between the Swedifh court and government of the United States, fo far as related to Tripoli—that admiral had orders to act with the advice and concurrence of the American Commodore.

The alarm excited in the apprehenfions of the ufurper by thefe mnnœuvres induced him to come forward with propofitions of peace; firft through the mediation of Tunis, then of Algiers; and to call to the defence of his city as many of his Moorifh and Arabic fubjects as were ftill in fubmiffion.

On the 17th July, 1802, the brig Franklin, Capt. A. Morris, of Philadelphia, was fent into Bizerte, a port in the kingdom of Tunis, fixty miles from the capital, by fea—and the next day veffel and cargo were put up at public auction in Tunis.

On the 11th, I wrote the advice, which Captain Murray anfwered, Auguft eighteen. In confequence of which I took the depofitions. The day after its date I received the advice from Captain Murray. Notwithftanding the engagements he had entered into with Hamet Bafhaw, as appears by his letter of 18th Auguft, he abandoned the enemy's coaft the 28th of the fame month—and from that day, till fome time in April or May of the year 1803, no American fhip nor veffel of war appeared in fight of Tripoli.

The capture of the Franklin, and the fafe arrival to Tripoli of the captives, in fight of the Conftellation, gave the court of Tunis a contemptible opinion of the vigilance and enterprize of our frigates. The deferters from the Gloria at Tunis had promulgated the tranfactions which took place at Gibraltar, refpecting this fhip, in fuch a manner that they became known to the Sapatapa. It was a matter of exultation at that piratical court, that the "*American Conful was abandoned by his countrymen.*" And the occafion was feized to "*humble his pride!*"

The fhip intended for a cruifer, and part cargo commiffioned for by the Sapatapa as part payment for his cargo of oil, had arrived the 13th January, 1802; but were rejected by the minifter becaufe I would not furnifh paffports to his coafters for Tripoli; and by the event of peace, they funk more than cent. per cent. in value. My project with Hamet Bafhaw was confidered as blown out. The expenfe of the Gloria had continued from the 1ft March without produce; and I faw no immediate profpect of relief from this expenfe; for I could obtain no information from the commodore—though I knew he had arrived at Gibraltar 25th May—and thought he muft have been informed of the arrangements made to terminate the war—as the difpatches, conveying the intelligence, arrived at Gibraltar a little before him, and were copied in the confular office there—and as he lay feventy-feven days in that port between the 24th May and 19th Auguft, he muft have had ample time to read them.

It was at this juncture of affairs, that the Sapatapa required immediate fettlement.

Befides bringing forward the privateer fhip and merchandize above mentioned for the minifter, I had made him very confiderable remittances in cafh on the fcore of the Anna Maria's cargo, and other matters. On prefenting my accounts, he ftruck out the fum before ftated, as conditionally engaged for his *fecret fervice.*—Againft this, I remonftrated; alledging

that he had forfeited right to the gratuity on account of having ſhifted his ground; offered himſelf as the mediator of peace in behalf of the enemy; and, as I had good reaſons to believe, had betrayed to him the whole affair. At any rate, the condition was in no ſenſe fulfilled; and of courſe no obligation on my part towards him. He affected not to underſtand any thing about this ſubject; but inſiſted on the deduction as an *error!* We had frequently before compared accounts, and agreed.—The caſe went before the Bey. I demanded that the Sapatapa ſhould produce his books in evidence—he ſaid he kept none—he *was not a trader*—but he ſwore by the head of his maſter that his ſtatement was honeſt—his maſter, of courſe gave judgment againſt me—there is no appeal from that deciſion. Nor could I obtain forbearance. The miniſter, when retired from the hall of juſtice, ſaid, with a ſarcaſtic cant, "*we know how to keep Conſuls to their promiſes!*"

It was in this dilemma that I found myſelf compelled to apply to the commercial agent of the Bey for a loan of 34,000 dollars, on a credit of ſix months, 2,000 dollars of which were diſcounted by him for uſe.

Mr. Cathcart having been made acquainted with the conduct of Capt. Murray, wrote, on the 25th Auguſt, a letter to the Department of State. This document will do ſomething to eſtabliſh what I am deſirous of ſhewing, that our project with Hamet Baſhaw was the reſult of deliberation—and that I acted in concurrence with an agent who held the higheſt confidence of government.

Thus ſtood affairs with me until the 8th September, when the Bey of Tunis, as if ſeduloully calculating to harraſs my feelings, conceived the project of ſending the Gloria to America, with a letter to the Preſident of the U. States, demanding a frigate of thirty-ſix guns—the letter was accompanied to me with his paſſport to the ſhip as a protection againſt Tri-

politans,* and his peremptory order to dispatch her without delay. I availed myself of this protection, at the risque of the Bey's resentment, to send the ship to Leghorn, and ordered the crew discharged—the discussion of the Bey's renewed demand for a frigate, with his minister, and his letter to the President may, at least, add one more proof of the arrogance and exorbitance of his disposition towards the United States as communicated.

Though our ships of war had now all left the coast, I still kept up a correspondence with Hamet Bashaw; till at length he proceeded to Derne, and was affectionately received by his subjects; who renewed their allegiance to him. He now sent two agents to me; one of his generals and his secretary, to bring this intelligence; who arrived about the 1st December. The Bashaw was soon after joined by a nephew, who had been banished to Cairo, at the head of a multitude of mountain Arabs: so that he found himself with a force sufficient to act against the usurper; and only waited the arrival of our squadron to block him by sea when he should move and invest him by land. His agents had been with me about sixty days, incog. when Commodore Morris appeared, for the first time, February 22d, 1803, in the road of the Golette, for the purpose of contesting the Bey's claim to property, belonging to his subjects, taken upon the Impirial Polacca, the Paulina. The Commodore went on shore under the pledge of the Bey's honour that he should be treated with the same distinctions as officers of the same rank of other friendly powers. After some discussions, he satisfied the Bey's claim, as was supposed; and entered into some engagments with the agents of Hamet Bashaw, for which he held the express sanction of the govern-

* Those Beys reciprocally respect each other's passports, even on an enemy's ship—and as they always give a passport for a year to prize vessels when sold, it very much helps the sale of their prizes.

ment. Theſe agents renewed to the United States, in the name of their Sovereign, the condition to deliver the uſurper, his family, and admiral into our hands as hoſtages of peace; and, they aſſured us, that it only required a force to prevent their eſcape by ſea, to enſure the ſucceſs of the project; for the ſubjects of Tripoli were very univerſally attached to the legitimate Baſhaw, and incenſed againſt the uſurper for his barbarities. They ſaid the object could be carried without the ſquadron's firing a gun! The Commodore promiſed to be before Tripoli in June following, for this purpoſe. The agents urged more expedition, and wept to urge in vain!

While with me, I had exhibited to the Commodore a view of my affairs; mentioned to him what I ſuppoſed would be the balance, which was 22,000 dollars, due on my note to the Bey's agent, and the cauſe in which it originated—read to him my letter of 9th November, 1802, to the Department of State, wherein it was ſtated that I ſhould have need of twenty-three thouſand dollars for defraying expences incident to my meaſures with Hamet Baſhaw. He expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction with my tranſactions; and his opinion that government would indemnify me; eſpecially for the amount which the Bey's miniſter had fraudulently extorted from me, as he had repeatedly heard the commercial agent confeſs was the caſe. He was requeſted, on going to pay his viſit of congē to the Bey, to ſay ſomething to the miniſter (to whom it appeared the caſh was going) to engage his forbearance until I could receive relief from America. This he ſaid he would do. And every thing ſeemed to have reſumed a tranquil appearance at Tunis. But the next morning the Bey's agent came forward with additional claims on the ſcore of the prize; ſome trifling articles of no great value. A conteſt of words, contradictions and reproaches enſued on the ſubject. The parties became incenſed againſt each other. The Commodore left the American houſe; and, inſtead of going to take leave of the Bey, as is always cuſtomary, and for which carriages were waiting,

ſhaped his courſe for the marine to embark. It was at this moment of irritation and diſtruſt, that the agent followed after; refuſed him a paſſage in his ſandals to the Golette, and demanded payment of the balance of my note.

The next day, at the palace, I remonſtrated with the Bey againſt this violation of faith and outrage offered to the dignity of my nation, mingling on the occaſion ſomething of thoſe feelings which a ſenſe of the perſonal indignities I had ſuffered at his court could not but excite in my own breaſt, with ſuch plainneſs as to produce my expulſion from his kingdom. This may, indeed, have been a premeditated matter; for I am conſcious that I had rendered myſelf politically obnoxious both to his and to the reſentment of his miniſter, by having uniformly reſiſted their exorbitant exactions. During more than four years agency at that court, I never yielded a conceſſion incompatible with the dignity and intereſt of my country. This was to them an unprecedented ground to be aſſumed by a tributary Conſul! If, in any inſtance, I may have made a ſacrifice, it has been to parry a certain danger; and chiefly occaſioned by the delays of the United States in forwarding their peace ſtipulations; or to ſome incident in which I had no volition.—Even the Bey himſelf, notwithſtanding his deciſion in favour of his miniſter againſt me, in the caſe before ſtated, bore teſtimony in preſence of every American preſent, to the zeal and integrity of my conduct as an agent, and even expreſſed his perſonal reſpect for me as an honeſt man; but alledged that my *head was too obſtinate;* and ſaid he *muſt have a conſul with a diſpoſition more congenial to the Barbary intereſts!*

Though I felt no regret in leaving the country, the manner in which I was hurried out of it, left many of my individual concerns unſettled, vaſtly to my injury. The prohibitions to which I had been previouſly ſubjected by the government, in conſequence of my adherence to poſitions relative to the commerce of this regency with the enemy, which duty compelled

me to hold, had operated alſo greatly to my diſadvantage; for which there is no remedy.

Having gone through this ſtatement of events, which produced the items of my claim now before this honourable Houſe; and brought into view the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of my agency; both as they relate to my exertions to keep the peace at Tunis, and to aſſiſt the operations of the war againſt Tripoli, I beg it may be conſidered, that ſo far as reſpects the latter, I have been but the chief acting agent of a meaſure which was recommended and urged by not only Mr. Cathcart, an agent of the government, beſt acquainted with the probabilities of its ſucceſs, but by every other agent and citizen of the United States with whom I could conſult, and who were entitled to my confidence—a meaſure ultimately adopted by every commanding officer who has appeared on that ſtation ſince it took ſhape, and approved by the Executive. That I have taken no ſteps in the meaſure but what reſulted from the poſition on which I was placed, and the nature of my duty; and but what met the concurrence of Mr. Cathcart and ſuch other officers of the government as were on the ground: that ſo far as my agency had any influence on the meaſure it ſucceeded: and that, if we have not experienced all the benefits calculated to reſult from its full effect, it ought to be attributed to the *inertia* of a commander, or commanders, over whoſe conduct I had no controul: that it was not apprehended any expences to the United States would accrue from the meaſure; but, on the contrary, that ſuch expences as ſhould be incident to its proſecution would be defrayed out of its ſucceſs; and that it would be a public ſaving both of life and property; as would eventually have been the caſe, if it had been proſecuted with ſuitable energy.

It may not be improper to recite, that my ſhip Gloria was to be employed *on this emergency* only till *the arrival of a commodore on the coaſt.* But it was impoſſible to imagine his arrival would be delayed eleven months after the plan was ma-

ture for execution—or that, on his arrival and finding it in that ftage, he fhould make no effort to give it effect. He was entreated to fend only one of his fhips with the agents, to the friendly Bafhaw, in order to encourage his perfeverence until he could bring the whole fquadron to co-operate with him.—This he refufed, on a pretext that the fhips were on fhort rations, and muft all accompany him to Gibraltar to provifion.

This may have been the cafe; but it is neverthelefs true that the whole fquadron lay nine days, after arriving at that port, without taking in even a bifcuit or a bucket of water: the commodore was occupied with *His Royal Highnefs*, the Duke of Kent, foliciting a court of admiralty to adjudicate upon David Valenzin, the Jew, whom he picked out of an Imperial veffel, near Malta. It is true that the firft appearance of this commodore before Tripoli, was not till the 22d of May, 1803. It is true, that during this term of a year, from his firft arrival on the ftation, he never burnt an ounce of powder, except at a royal falute fired at Gibraltar, in celebration of the birth day of *His Britannic Majefty*, or on fimilar occafions. And it is equally true, that during the period of feventeen months he commanded the whole force of the U. States in the Mediterranean, he was only nineteen days before the enemy's port!

I certainly feel no inclination to act the informer: nor would I ftate thefe facts were it not that thofe delinquencies have moft deeply affected me, rifled me of my honour, and, for ought I know, reduced me to extreme poverty. Whereas, had I been fupported with that energy, nay, with that integrity, which was due to the confidence of the government in the Commander in Chief of the expedition, I fhould have faved both my honour and my property. I fhould at leaft have faved myfelf the mortification of this appeal to the equity and fenfibility of the national legiflature. And, it is confidently believed, my country would have experience lafting benefits from my exertions.

It is presumed the project with Hamet Bashaw is still feasible. The very circumstance of his *existence* is evidence of his holding a position formidable to the enemy; for it is well known, a Turkish despot never lets a rival exist whom he can destroy. And, I must be permitted still to adhere to the opinion, which has actuated my conduct in this affair, that it is the most eligible way of securing a permanent peace with that regency; for there is *no faith in treaties with the ruling Bashaw!*

Besides the impression to be made on the world by this species of chastisement, it would have a beneficial influence on the other Barbary regencies. To them the precedent would be dreadful; for it would be no very difficult matter, in case of war, to start a rival in either of those regencies, the government of Algiers being military elective, and the Beylique of Tunis, though hereditary, now held by usurpation. This may account, perhaps, for the Sapatapa having, after deliberation, seceded from his engagements with me in favour of re-establishing the legitimate Bashaw of Tripoli.

But whether the project be yet practicable or not, it is believed, sufficient evidence has been produced to convince the understanding of every one, who is willing to be convinced, that the object which that enterprize aimed to secure, was worth an experiment. With the discretionary instructions I held, I should have thought myself chargeable with a criminal omission, had I not used every effort to secure it: for if a prominent occasion offers which might place the life and dominion of the enemy into our hands, would it not have been treacherous to have neglected it?

It may be asserted, without vanity or exaggeration, that my arrangements with the rival Bashaw did more to harrass the enemy, in 1802, than the entire operations of our squadron. Yet the force sent into the Mediterranean that season, was adequate to all the purposes of the war, and, with the favourable positions which had been secured, might have put

an end to it in fixty days after arriving at the port, had the arrival been feafonable. This is not my folitary opinion. The Bey of Tunis himfelf, when hearing of the plan concerted between the Americans and the rival Bafhaw, exclaimed—"Seid Jofeph is ruined!" meaning the ruling Bafhaw of Tripoli. But it is now pretended the enterprize was abandoned on the fcore of *economy!* Oliver Cromwell *fearched the Lord* whenever he had occafion to veil his finifter views from *men! Economy* feems to be the mafk of the day with us to difguife the moft palpable and inexcufable neglects of duty; for it is hackneyed by every hypocrite whofe bafenefs wants a fhield for delinquency; or whofe jealoufy feeks to blaft the merit of that vigilance and energy which cannot but upbraid his remiffnefs. Hence the very commander, who recoils at the prodigality of feeing a fingle fhip employed in the profecution of a meafure which might have decided the fate of the enemy, and at a moment when no alternative exifted, feems wholly unconcerned at having employed the whole operative naval force of the United States an entire year, in the Mediterranean, attending the *travels of a woman!*

Let it not be inferred from thefe ftrictures, that your petitioner is an infidel to the doctrine of economy! On the contrary—*he believes*—but not in a mif-application of the term, nor a perverfion of the principle. Without the arrogance of believing himfelf capable of advifing—may he not be permitted to afk—if this kind of concern for the public weal fhould have influence to circumfcribe the provifions which the neceffary operations of the prefent moment require on the Barbary coaft, will it not betray us into degradations and facrifices which will be felt by the lateft generations of pofterity? Can there be a doubt that the regencies are all covertly leagued in the war? Is not the queftion at iffue between them and us, whether we will yield ourfelves *tributary*, and fubfcribe to conditional *articles of flavery;* or take an attitude more analogous to our national glory and intereft? Is there a citizen in

America who would not rather contribute ſomething extraordinary for an effectual reſiſtance to the pretenſions of theſe Beys, than by an illuſive calculation of gaining by withholding thoſe contributions, take the yoke of a Barbary pirate; ſubſcribe to voluntary chains; and leave the bluſh of ages embalmed on our tombs!

Let my fellow-citizens be perſuaded, that there is no bourn to the avarice of the Barbary princes—like the inſatiate grave, they can never have enough. Conſign them the revenue of the United States as the price of peace, they would ſtill tax our labours for more *veritable expreſſions of our friendſhip.*—But it is a humiliating conſideration to the induſtrious citizen, the ſweat of whoſe brow ſupports him with bread, that a tythe from his hard earnings muſt go to purchaſe oil of roſes to perfume a pirate's beard!

It would be indeed ſomething aſtoniſhing that thoſe pitiful hordes of ſea-robbers ſhould have acquired ſuch an aſcendendency over the ſmall and even conſiderable ſtates of Chriſtendom, were it not eaſily accounted for upon commercial principles. It is true, that Denmark and Sweden (and even the United States, following the example) gratuitouſly furniſh almoſt all their materials for ſhip-building and munitions of war; beſides the valuable jewels and large ſums of money we are continually paying into their hands for their forbearance, and for the occaſional ranſom of captives. Holland and Spain bring them caſh, naval conſtructors, engineers, and workmen, in their dock-yards. Without theſe reſources they would ſoon ſink under their own ignorance and want of means to become miſchievous. Why this humiliation! Why furniſh them the means to cut our own throats! It is from a degrading counting-houſe policy in the cabinets of the more powerful nations of Europe, to keep theſe marauders in exiſtence as a check upon the commercial enterprize of their weak neighbours—and from a principle of commercial rivalſhip among the tributaries, which aims to ſupplant each other in the friend-

ſhip of theſe chiefs by the preponderence of bribes: a principle, however, which ultimately defeats its own object—for the Beys, like apoſtate lawyers, take fees on both ſides, and by a rule of inverſion, turn their arguments againſt the client who has the heavieſt purſe.

But what good reaſon is there why the United States ſhould follow in the train of thoſe tributaries? We have not choſen to accept the right of free navigation, nor any other of the appendages of liberty as the grant of an European power—and ſhall we humiliate ourſelves to accept them as the fief of a Barbary pirate, becauſe the circumſcribed powers of Denmark and Sweden, economical Holland and dormant Spain, afford us precedents? Or becauſe it would be convenient to England and France? I don't know what need we have of Europe any more than that quarter has of us. It is an acknowledged fact, that during the late war, there was a period when the produce of the United States ſupported the exiſtence of England. If we find her interfering in our foreign relations to the annoyance of our commerce, can we not retaliate the injury by ſtarving her in her own Iſland? France is, perhaps, more invulnerable; but France has vulnerable points. She may recollect that Achilles periſhed of a wound in his heel.—As for the other nations of Europe, have we not as little to fear as to hope from them? Why not then once more leave the beaten tract of European policy and bad example; and once more demonſtrate to the world that we have the means and the enterprize to defend and protect our national rights!

Is the inveteracy of habits an argument againſt this experiment? What hinders the government of the United States from ſaying to thoſe piratical deſcendants from the Iſle of Leſbos, as the Romans to a Grecian pirate of antiquity, "Tuta! we can, by our arms, force you to reform the abuſes of your bad government?" The enterprize and intrepidity of a Rogers, a Preble, and a Sterrett, have proved to us, that thoſe Muſſulmen are no more impregnable to a manly front than other ſavages.

In addition to the ordinary inducements of the Barbary ſtates to commit piracies on our commerce, there is another incentive equally powerful, which may have eſcaped the notice of the people of the United States, and yet which affects only us. We are the rivals of Algiers and Tunis, in one principal article of commerce in the Mediterranean; which is bread corn. Immenſe quantities of that eſſential life article, are annually ſhipped from both thoſe regencies to the ports of Spain and Italy; and occaſionally to other ports of Chriſtendom in that ſea. This article of commerce at Algiers, as well as all others, is farmed by the Jew houſe of Bocri and Buſnah; who are well known to have a preponderating influence in all the affairs of that government.

At Tunis, the government itſelf monopoliſes the entire commerce of the kingdom. In both regencies that rivalſhip cannot but excite a ſpirit of hoſtility to our commerce; more particularly ſo, as this is the chief article of exportation in both countries; from which the governments receive their principal revenue; and an article which always commands ready ſale and caſh payment, or advantageous barter.

In caſe of a rupture with either, or both thoſe regencies, a plentiful ſupply of this article to thoſe ports in the Mediterranean, and a cloſe blockade of the enemy's ports, might bring them to their ſenſes. It would be next to an invaſion of their country, the moſt wounding blow which could be inflicted.—It would convince them that they have as much need of our friendſhip as we have of theirs. Are not ſuch the principles of reciprocity we ſhould wiſh to eſtabliſh?

On the 15th April, in this year, the Baſhaw of Tunis wrote to the Preſident of the United States, for forty pieces of cannon, 24 pounders, &c.

As has been obſerved, the expedition of Commodore Dale was attended with little or no ſucceſs. He left the ſtation,

and was fucceeded by Commodore Morris, in the fpring of 1802. The reprehenfible conduct of this delatory commodore, is fufficiently expofed in the preceding remarks of Gen. Eaton. It was in April or May when he arrived on the ftation, and we hear nothing of his making his appearance on the Barbary coaft until the February following. Thefe circumftances of his delinquency, and his treatment of Valenzin, the Jew, ought to ftamp his character with eternal infamy!

On the 15th of June, the brig Franklin, Captain Morris, from Philadelphia, was captured by a Tripolitan corfair, adjacent to Carthagena; and another American brig, which was in company, got off. On the 26th fhe was carried into Algiers—of the crew there were eight—they were all loaded with chains.

Extract of a letter from Andrew Morris, Captain of the brig Franklin, to James Leander Cathcart, Efq. Conful of the United States, &c. &c. dated

TRIPOLI, *July* 22, 1802.

I TAKE this early opportunity to inform you of my capture. I failed with the brig Franklin, belonging to Meffrs. Summerl & Brown, of Philadelphia, from Marfeilles, with an afforted cargo for the Weft-Indies, on the 8th ultimo; and on the night of the 17th following, then off Cape Palos, was boarded by one of three Tripoline corfairs, mounting four carriage and four fwivel guns, that failed from this place on or about the 20th May. I fhall pafs over the occurrences of that night, as you are well acquainted with the conduct of thefe barbarians towards the unfortunate that fall into their hands. They proceeded with the prize to Algiers, where we arrived the 26th, and, as I conjecture by the reprefentations of Mr. O'Brien, they were obliged to make a hafty retreat on the 27th following; but not without giving me an additional

load of chains. What with calms and contrary winds, we did not reach Biserta, in the neighbourhood of Tunis, until the 7th inst. where, after a tarry of five days, we departed, leaving the brig there in charge of their agent, and arrived here on the 19th inst. Through the interference of Mr. Nissen, his Danish majesty's consul here, I have the liberty of the town, and by a lucky event, a Mr. Bn. M'Donough has claimed my two officers and one seaman, and has obtained their release as British subjects: two more, that were foreigners, which I reported as passengers, have likewise been liberated; so that they have only myself and three seamen captives. You will readily agree with me, that this will lessen the value of the capture to the Bey.

The three galliotts are now all in port; they are to sail immediately; it is said Murad Raiz, alias Lisle, is to go in one of them, or in a small Italian Polacre, of 12 guns.

THIS year was distinguished by no other events than what have been mentioned; and it would puzzle the most scrutinizing enquirer to find out, what our mighty commodore and his squadron were doing through the whole season: for, as Gen. Eaton says, during the term of a year from his first arrival on the station, he never burnt an ounce of powder, except at a royal salute, fired at Gibraltar, in celebration of the birthday of his Britannic majesty; and that during the period of 17 months, he commanded the whole force of the United States in the Mediterranean, he was only *nineteen days* before the enemy's port!

On the 22d May, 1803, Commodore Morris, for the first time, made his appearance off Tripoli! And what did he achieve? Nothing: after tarrying 19 days, he returned to his usual employment, and was succeeded in his command by Commodore Preble. During, or in the course of this sum-

mer, Capt. Rogers deſtroyed a Tripolitan corvette, and took a number of priſoners. It was on the 5th of October, when Commodore Preble arrived at Tangier Bay, and I ſhould have mentioned that Capt. Rogers had the command of the ſquadron from the time Commodore Morris left it, until Preble arrived. His operations off Tripoli, the fate of the Philadelphia, &c. have all been related, and need not a recapitulation,

CHAPTER XV.

SKETCH OF GENERAL EATON'S EXPEDITION.

LINES ADDRESSED TO GEN. EATON,

On reading the Congressional debate respecting his Golden Medal. Written on board the U. States frigate Essex.

AND was it, then, a subject of debate,
With those wise *Solons*, in the house of state,
Whether should *Derne's* conq'rer stand or fall,
Or matchless bravery meet reward at all?
Whether should EATON, *unexampled* brave,
Who fought to rescue, and who bled to save
Three hundred captive souls from chains and death,
Whose lives hung, trembling, on a murd'rer's breath,
Whether his name descend to future days,
On the bright *Medal* of a nation's praise?
Or, should his trophies be by all forgot,
Mix with the rubbish of the times, and rot?
"Small was his force, half naked were his foes,
"And, tho' so num'rous, easy to oppose."
Thus argu'd *Randolph; Clay* the same avows,
And fain would pluck the laurel from his brows—
The sword of vict'ry from his hand would wrest,
And tear the badge of valor from his breast;
But, thank them not, though justice still is found,
And grateful honours wreath his temples round.
And was it nought those burning sands t' explore,
Where feet of Christians never trod before?
Where freedom's banners ne'er had been unfurl'd,
Since the bold Romans flourish'd o'er the world?
'Midst fierce Barbarians, whom no laws can bind,
Wild as the waves, and treach'rous as the wind,

To rear that standard and so long defend,
With less than *twelve* on whom he might depend?
To storm a citadel of tenfold might,
And hold that fortress, till the flag of white
Woo'd him to yield it, on the terms of peace—
Who gave his captive countrymen release?
For EATON's boldness first appall'd the foe,
Who, forc'd like Pharaoh, let the people go.
  When the blest shade of WASHINGTON, above,
Saw the bold chief thro' Lybian deserts move,
The sword of vengeance waving in the sky,
Resolv'd to free his brethren, or to die,
Those patriot '*lev'n*, attending on his way,
His visage beam'd a more celestial ray;
To WARREN and MONTGOM'RY shew'd the sight,
Then sunk in glory, and absorb'd in light.
  Oh! did he live! did *Vernon*'s boast again
Shine in our fields, or in our councils reign,
His voice from EATON never would withhold,
Altho' with pearls enrich'd, the burnish'd gold;
But by his hand would ardently be prest,
The conscious symbol to his dauntless breast.
  Then let mean envy *Randolph*'s spite betray,
And dart thine arrows, impious hand of *Clay!*
The hand of heav'n—for heav'n rewards the brave,
Will bless thee, EATON, e'en beyond the grave.
While gratitude shall warm Columbia's breast,
Thy name shall live, thy merits stand confest;
Thy deeds shall brighten on th' historic page,
Year after year, and age succeeding age—
Wreaths of thy fame, transferr'd by bards sublime,
Shall bloom forever mid the wrecks of time.

SOME circumſtances relative to the origin of this expedition have been already mentioned. The diſintereſted patriotiſm, the enterprize, the activity and the intripidity of this ſecond Laonidas, cannot be too highly appreciated, or too much extolled. Had he not been baſely deſerted by Com. Barron, who

had promifed to aid his exertions, he would unavoidably have marched triumphantly to Tripoli, and faved the United States 60,000 dollars, befides a large amount of national honour.—The following letter will exhibit a brief ftatement of the Generals co-operations with the Ex-Bafhaw, and of his conqueft of Derne.

I LEFT the United States in the fquadron, in perfuance of this project, July 4, 1804. On the 15th November following failed from Syracufe for Alexandria, Egypt—arrived 28th, proceeded to Grand Cairo; with much difficulty drew Hamet Bafhaw from the Mameluke army. In February, formed a camp on the left of Alexandria, confifting of twelve different nations; chiefly Arabs. On the 6th March, entered the defert of Lybia, (modern Barca) were fifty days paffing to the rear of Derne; during which time we fuffered every privation—were twenty-five days without meat, and fifteen without bread, fubfifting on half a pint of rice per man. Three days we were without any thing; fupporting exiftence by roots dug in the fand, and by a fpecies of wild fennel and forrel, which we fometimes found in the ravines. On the 26th April, I fummoned the garrifon of Derne to furrender; the governor, a Turkifh general, laconically anfwered—"My head, or your's!" On the 27th, I carried the city by affault; early in the charge, in which we turned the flank of, and routed eight hundred Turks with only feventy Chriftians, I received a ball through my left wrift. At 4, P. M. we were in complete poffeffion of the city; and at 5, my wound was dreffed by a furgeon from the brig Argus. On the 13th May, the enemy's army, which had long been preparing for the expedition, attacked us in quarters, and were defeated with great lofs and fhame; being driven quite to their fortified camp. Thefe events undoubtedly produced the folicitude in Jofeph Bafhaw for peace with the United States. Though a negociation was opened about the middle of May, no armiftice was provided

for us on the coaſt; conſequently we continued our hoſtilities till the 10th of June, every day skirmiſhing, when the enemy were totally defeated before the walls of Derne; and the next day took flight to the deſert, for Upper Egypt. We now received intelligence of peace and ranſom; and conſequently abandoned the coaſt, and the unfortunate too credulous friends we had created there. Our object was to have overthrown the uſurper at Tripoli, forced a peace with the regency, and to have marched our fellow-citizens in ſlavery triumphantly from their cells to our fleet. We ſhould have ſucceeded if we had been fairly ſeconded. The number of Americans, through the deſert and in the aſſault of the 27th April, was only *eleven*. I had one company of Greeks, recruited in Alexandria; and one company of French artillery, found in the ſame place. Lieutenant O'Brannon, of the marine corps, and Lieutenant Mann, of the navy, who accompanied me, merit honourable mention.

The veſſels employed before Derne were the brig Argus, Captain Hull; the ſchooner Nautilus, Captain Dent; and the ſloop Hornet, Lieutenant Evans—all of whom behaved with diſtinguiſhed courage and good conduct. Lieutenant Evans, laid his ſloop, of ſix braſs fixes only, within piſtol ſhot of a water battery, of nine long nine pounders, and ſilenced it with grape in three quarters of an hour. During the conflict, a ſhot from the enemy's battery carried away his enſign halliards. Lieutenant Blodget ſeized the flag, went up the ſhrouds, and, amidſt an inceſſant ſhower of musketry, nailed it to the maſt head, without receiving any injury; though, in the tranſaction, a musket ball lodged in his watch while in his fob—which miracle ſaved his life.

Thoſe of us who did duty on ſhore, and had paſſed the

desert, were ninety-five days and nights without undressing, except to change linen.

I am, Sir, very truly,

Your friend and well wisher,

WILLIAM EATON.

Washington, February 22, 1807.

GEN. EATON had entered into stipulations with the Ex-Bashaw to restore him to his throne and his family; and Com. Barron, after having favoured his views and applauded his conduct—after having pledged his faith both to Eaton and the Ex-Bashaw, to give them all the aid which they required, at the moment when they put their designs in execution—at the moment when success atended their first efforts, and their yet immature project, a dishonourable peace is concluded, under the auspecies of Barron, who pronounces it a "moment highly favourable to treat of peace," when he had not been in sight of Tripoli for eight months—some of his frigates had not ever been nearer it than Malta; seldom, if ever, more than two of them cruizing off the port, and generally not but one; his squadron had never been displayed to the enemy's view, nor a shot exchanged with the batteries of Tripoli since Com. Preble left the coast, except *en passant;* and what is a truth, equally demonstrable, no visible preparations were making at head-quarters for the investment of the ensuing summer, which could give the enemy any uneasiness.

A concise statement of these facts may be seen in the report of the committee of Congress to whom was referred the petition of Hamet Caramanli, Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli.

Report of the committee to whom was referred the application of HAMET CARAMANLI, *Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli.*

THE Ex-Bashaw founds his claim on the justice of the U. States, from his services and sufferings in their cause, and from

his having been deceived and amufed with the profpect of being placed on his throne, as legitimate fovereign of Tripoli, and frequently drawn from eligible fituations for the purpofe of being made the dupe and inftrument of policy, and finally facrificed to misfortune and wretchednefs. The committee, from a full inveftigation of the documents which have been laid before Congrefs, with other evidence that has come within their knowledge, are enabled to lay before the Senate a brief ftatement of facts in relation to the Ex-Bafhaw, and the refult of their deliberations thereon.

This unfortunate prince, by the treafon and perfidy of his brother, the reigning Bafhaw, was driven from his throne, an exile to the regency of Tunis; where the agents of the United States in the Mediterranean, found him; and as early as Auguft, eighteen hundred and one, entered into a convention to cooperate with him, the object of which was to obtain a permanent peace with Tripoli, to place the Ex-Bafhaw on his throne, and procure indemnification for all expences in accomplifhing the fame. This agreement was renewed in November following, with encouragement that the United States would perfevere, until they had effected the object; and in eighteen hundred and two, when the reigning Bafhaw had made overtures to the Ex-Bafhaw, to fettle on him the two provinces of Derne and Bengazi, and when the Ex-Bafhaw was on the point of leaving Tunis, under an efcort furnifhed him by the reigning Bafhaw, the agents of the United States prevailed on him to abandon the offer, with affurance that the United States would effectually co-operate and place him on the throne of Tripoli.

The fame engagements w re renewed in eighteen hundred and three, and the plan of co-operation fo arranged, that the Ex-Bafhaw, by his own exertions and force, took poffeffion of the province of Derne; but the American fquadron, at that time under the command of Commodore Morris, inftead of

improving that favourable moment, to co-operate with the Ex-Baſhaw, and to put an end to the war, unfortunately abandon the Barbary coaſt, and left the Ex-Baſhaw to contend ſolely with all the force of the reigning Baſhaw, and who in conſequence was obliged, in the fore part of the year eighteen hundred and four, to give up his conqueſt of Derne, and fly from the fury of the uſurper into Egypt. Theſe tranſactions were from time to time, not only communicated by our agents to government, but were laid before Congreſs in February, eighteen hundred and four, in the documents accompanying the report of the committee of claims on the prtition of Mr. Eaton, late conſul at Tunis, which committee expreſſed their decided approbation of his official conduct, and to which report the committee beg leave to refer.

In full poſſeſſion of the knowledge of theſe facts, the government of the United States, in June, eighteen hundred and four, diſpatched Commodore Barron with a ſquadron into the Mediterranean, and in his inſtructions, ſubmitted to his entire diſcretion, the ſubject of availing himſelf of the co-operation of the Ex-Baſhaw, and referring him to Mr. Eaton, as an agent ſent out by government for that purpoſe.

After Commodore Barron had arrived on the ſtation in September, eighteen hundred and four, he diſpatched Mr. Eaton and Capt. Hull into Egypt to find the Ex-Baſhaw, with inſtructions to aſſure him that the commodore would take the moſt effectual meaſures with the forces under his command, to co-operate with him againſt the uſurper, his brother, and to eſtabliſh him in the regency of Tripoli. After encountering many difficulties and dangers, the Ex-Baſhaw was found in Upper Egypt with the Mamelukes, and commanding the Arabs; the ſame aſſurances were again made to him, and a convention was reduced to writing; the ſtipulations of which had the ſame objects in view; the United States to obtain a permanent peace and their priſoners; the Ex-Baſhaw to obtain his throne. Under theſe impreſſions, and with the fulleſt

confidence in the aſſurances he had received from agents of the United States, and even from Commodore Barron himſelf, by one of his (the Baſhaw's) ſecretaries, whom he had ſent to wait on the Commodore for that purpoſe, he gave up his proſpects in Egypt—abandoned his property in that country, conſtituted Mr. Eaton General and commander in chief of his forces, and with ſuch an army as he was able to raiſe and ſupport, marched through the Lybian deſert, ſuffering every hardſhip incident to ſuch a perilous undertaking; and with his army, commanded by Gen. Eaton, aided by O'Brannon and Mann, three American officers, who ſhared with him the dangers and hardſhips of the campaign, and whoſe names their country will forever record with honour, attacked the city of Derne in the regency of Tripoli, on the twenty-ſeventh day of April, one thouſand eight hundred and five, and after a well fought battle, took the ſame; and for the firſt time, planted the American colours on the ramparts of a Tripolitan fort. And in ſeveral battles afterwards, one of which he fought without the aid of the Americans, (they having been reſtrained by orders, not warranted by any policy, iſſued as appears by Mr. Lear, the American conſul,) defeated the army of the uſurper, with great ſlaughter, maintained his conqueſt, and without the hazard of a repulſe, would have marched to the throne of Tripoli, had he been ſupported by the co-operation of the American ſquadron, which in honour and good faith he had a right to expect. The committee would here explicitly declare, that in their opinion, no blame ought to attach to Commodore Barron; a waſting ſickneſs, and conſequent mental as well as bodily debility, had rendered him totally unable to exerciſe the duties of commanding the ſquadron, previous to this momentous criſis, and from which he has never recovered; and to this cauſe alone may be attributed the final failure of the plan of co-operation, which appears to have been wiſely concerted by the government, and hitherto bravely executed by its officers.*

But, however unpleafant the tafk, the committee are compelled by the obligations of truth and duty, to ftate further, thatMr. Lear, to whom was entrufted the power of negociating the peace, appears to have gained a complete afcendency over the Commodore, thus debilitated by ficknefs ; or rather having affumed the command in the name of the Commodore,* to have dictated every meafure to have paralized every military operation by fea and land; and finally, without difplaying the fleet or fquadron before Tripoli, without confulting even the fafety of the Ex-Bafhaw or his army, againft the opinion of all the officers of the fleet, fo far as the committee have been able to obtain the fame, and of Commodore Rogers (as appears from Mr. Lear's letter† to the fecretary of ftate, dated Syracufe harbour, July 5th, 1805,) to have entered into a convention with the reigning Bafhaw, by which, contrary to his inftructions, he ftipulated to pay him fixty thoufand dollars, to

* *Extract of a letter from Capt. Dent.*—"It was generally believed by the officers in the Mediterranean, that Mr. Lear had a great ascendency over the commodore in all his measures relative to the squadron, and from frequent observations of Mr. Lear's intimacy with the commodore during his debilitated state, I am of the same opinion."

† "I must here pay a tribute of justice to Commodor Rogers, whose conduct during the negociation on board, was mixed with that manly firmness, and evident wish to continue the war, if it could be done with propriety, while he displayed the magnanimity of an American, in declaring that we fought not for conquest, but to maintain our just rights and national dignity, as fully convinced the negotiators, that we did not ask but grant peace.

"You will pardon me if I here introduce a circumstance evincive of the spirit of our countrymen. At breakfeast this morning, Commodore Rogers observed, that if the Bashaw would consent to deliver up our countrymen without making peace, he would engage to give him two hundred thousand instead of sixty thousand dollars, and raise the difference between the two sums from the officers of the navy, who he was perfectly assured, would contribute to it with the highest satisfaction."

abandon the Ex-Bashaw, and to withdraw all aid and affiftance from his army. And although a ftipulation was made that the wife and children of the Ex-Bafhaw fhould be delivered to him on his withdrawing from the territories of Tripoli, yet that ftipulation has not been carred into execution, and it is highly probable was never intended to be. The committee forbear to make any comment on the impropriety of the order iffued to Gen. Eaton to evacuate Derne, five days previous to Mr. Lear's failing from Malta, for Tripoli, to enter on his negociation; nor will the committee condefcend to enter into a confideration of pretended reafons, affigned by Mr. Lear, to palliate his management of the affairs of the negotiation; fuch as *the danger of the American prifoners in Tripoli, the unfitnefs of the fhips for fervice, and the want of means to profecute the war;* they appear, to the committee, to have no foundation in fact, and are ufed rather as a veil to cover an inglorious deed, than folid reafons to juftify the negociator's conduct. The committee are free to fay, that in their opinion, it was in the power of the United States, with the force then employed, and at a fmall portion of the fixty thoufand dollars, thus improperly expended, to have placed Hamet Caramanli, the rightful fovereign of Tripoli, on his throne; to have obtained their prifoners in perfect fafety,‡ without the payment of a cent, with affurance, and probable certainty, of eventual remuneration for all expence; and to have eftablifhed a peace with the Barbary powers, that would have been fecure and permanent, and which would have dignified the name and character of the American people.

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‡ *Extract from a letter of Commodore Rogers.*—"I never thought the prisoners were in danger."

Extract from a letter of Lieutenant Wormely, then a prisoner in Tripoli.—"I do not believe that there was any danger to be apprehended for our lives, even if Gen. Eaton and Hamet Bashaw had have marched under the walls of Tripoli."

Whatever Hamet, the Ex-Baſhaw, may have ſaid in his letter of June 29th, 1805, to palliate the conduct which firſt abandoned and then ruined him, the Senate cannot fail to diſcern that he was then at Syracuſe, in a country of ſtrangers to his merits, and hoſtile to his nation and religion, and where every circumſtance conſpired to depreſs him; which, together with the fear of ſtarving, left him ſcarcely a moral agent.

Upon theſe facts, and to carry into effect the principles of duty ariſing out of them, the only remuneration now left in the power of the United States to make, the committee herewith preſent a bill for the conſideration of the Senate. The committee are confident that the legiſlature of a free and Chriſtian country, can never leave it in the power of a Mahometan to ſay, *that they violate their faith, or withhold the operations of juſtice from one who has fallen a victim to his unbounded confidence in their integrity and honour.*

THUS betrayed and abandoned by the idle ſquadron, which had nothing elſe to do but yield him the promiſed aſſiſtance, the brave General Eaton was obliged to fly from Derne, and the Ex-Baſhaw and his army, to eſcape for their lives. But the univerſal plaudits beſtowed on the General, on his arrival in America, and the approbation of government, are ſufficient teſtimonials of the high ſenſe of merit which the Americans entertain of his ſervices, and muſt be a great alleviation of the mortifying chagrin which he felt at being ſo ungenerouſly deſerted in the very extremity of a perilous enterprize. Notwithſtanding General Eaton was the chief cauſe of what they call bringing the Baſhaw to *terms*, yet he was never conſulted in the negociations of peace; but when the names of Barron, of Morris, and of Lear are loſt in oblivion, that of Eaton will ſhine ſtill more conſpicuous on the catalogue of American heroes.

TREATY

Of peace and amity between the United States of America, and the Bashaw, Bey and subjects of Tripoli in Barbary.

ARTICLE 1. There shall be, from the conclusion of this treaty, a firm, inviolable and universal peace and a sincere friendship between the President and citizens of the United States of America, on the one part, and the Bashaw, Bey and subjects of the regency of Tripoli in Barbary, on the other, made by the free consent of both parties, and on the terms of the most favoured nation. And if either party shall hereafter grant to any other nation, any particular favour, or privilege, in navigation or commerce, it shall immediately become common for the other party, freely, where it is freely granted to such other nation; but where the grant is conditional, it shall be at the option of the contracting parties to accept, alter or reject such conditions in such manner as shall be most conducive to their respective interests.

Art. 2. The Bashaw of Tripoli shall deliver up to the American squadron now off Tripoli, all the Americans in his possession; and all the subjects of the Bashaw of Tripoli, now in the power of the United States of America, shall be delivered up to him; and as the number of Americans in possession of the Bashaw of Tripoli, amount to three hundred persons, more or less, and the number of Tripoline subjects in the power of the Americans, to about one hundred, more or less, the Bashaw of Tripoli shall receive from the United States of America, the sum of sixty thousand dollars, as a payment for the difference between the prisoners herein mentioned.

Art. 3. All the forces of the United States, which have been, or may be in hostility against the Bashaw of Tripoli, in the province of Derne, or elsewhere within the dominions of the said Bashaw, shall be withdrawn therefrom, and no supplies shall be given by, or in behalf of the said United States, during the continuance of this peace, to any of the subjects of the said Bashaw, who may be in hostility against him, in

any part of his dominions; and the Americans will ufe all means in their power to perfuade the brother of the faid Bafhaw, who co-operated with them at Derne, &c. to withdraw from the territory of the faid Bafhaw of Tripoli; but will not ufe any force or improper means to effect that object; and in cafe he fhould withdraw himfelf as aforefaid, the Bafhaw engages to deliver up to him his wife and children now in his power.

Art. 4. If any goods belonging to any nation, with which either of the parties are at war, fhould be loaded on board veffels, belonging to the other party, they fhall pafs free and unmolefted, and no attempts fhall be made to take or detain them.

Art. 5. If any citizens or fubjects, with their effects, belonging to either party, fhall be found on board a prize veffel, taken from an enemy by the other party, fuch citizens or fubjects fhall be liberated immediately, and their effects fo captured fhall be reftored to their lawful owers, or their agents.

Art. 6. Proper paffports fhall immediately be given to the veffels of both the contracting parties on condition, that the veffels of war belonging to the regency of Tripoli, on meeting with merchant veffels, belonging to citizens of the United States of America, fhall not be permitted to vifit them with more than two perfons at a time, befides the rowers; thefe two only fhall be permitted to go on board, without firft obtaining leave from the commander of faid veffel, who fhall compare the paffport and immediately permit faid veffel to proceed on her voyage; and fhould any of the faid fubjects of Tripoli infult or moleft the commander or any other perfon on board a veffel fo vifited, or plunder any of the property contained in her, on complaint being made by the conful of the United States of America refident at Tripoli, and on his producing fufficient proof to fubftantiate the fact, the commander or rais of faid Tripoline fhip or veffel of war, as well as the offenders, fhall be punifhed in the moft exemplary manner. All veffels of war belonging to the United States of A-

merica on meeting with a cruiser belonging to the regency of Tripoli, on having seen her passport and certificate from the consul of the United States of America residing in the regency, shall permit her to proceed on her cruize unmolested, and without detention. No passport shall be granted by either party to any vessels, but such as are absolutely the property of citizens or subjects of said contracting parties, on any pretence whatever.

Art. 7. A citizen or subject of either of the contracting parties, having bought a prize vessel, condemned by the other party, or by any other nation, the certificate of condemnation and bill of sale, shall be a sufficient passport for such vessel for two years, which, considering the distance between the two countries, is no more than a reasonable time for her to procure proper passports.

Art. 8. Vessels of either party, putting into the ports of the other, and having need of provisions or other supplies, they shall be furnished at the market price; and if any such vessel should so put in, from a disaster at sea, and have occasion to repair, she shall be at liberty to land and re-embark her cargo, without paying any duties; but in no case shall be compelled to land her cargo.

Art. 9. Should a vessel of either party be cast on the shore of the other, all proper assistance shall be given to her and her crew. No pillage shall be allowed, the property shall remain at the disposition of the owners, and the crew protected and succoured, till they can be sent to their country.

Art. 10. If a vessel of either party shall be attacked by an enemy within gun shot of the forts of the other, she shall be defended as much as possible. If she be in port, she shall not be seized or attacked when it is in the power of the other party to protect her; and when she proceeds to sea, no enemy shall be allowed to persue her from the same port, within twety-four hours after her departure.

& &

Art. 11. The commerce between the United States of America and the regency of Tripoli; the protection to be given to merchants, maſters of veſſels and ſeamen; the reciprocal right of eſtabliſhing conſuls in each country, and the privileges, immuuities and juriſdictions, to be enjoyed by ſuch conſuls, are declared to be on the ſame footing with the moſt favoured nations reſpectively.

Art. 12. The conſul of the United States of America ſhall not be anſwerable for debts contracted by citizens of his own nation, unleſs he previouſly gives a written obligation ſo to do.

Art. 13. On a veſſel of war, belonging to the United States of America, anchoring before the city of Tripoli, the conſul is to inform the Baſhaw of her arrival, and ſhe ſhall be ſaluted with twenty-one guns, which ſhe is to return in the ſame quantity or number.

Art. 14. As the government of the United States of America has, in itſelf, no character of enmity againſt the laws, religion or tranquility of Muſſulmen, and as the ſaid ſtates never have entered into any voluntary war or act of hoſtility againſt any Mahometan nation, except in the defence of their juſt rights to freely navigate the high ſeas, it is declared by the contracting parties, that no pretext ariſing from religious opinions ſhall ever produce an interruption of the harmony exiſting between the two nations. And the conſuls and agents of both nations reſpectively, ſhall have the liberty to exerciſe his religion in his own houſe. All ſlaves of the ſame religion ſhall not be impeded in going to ſaid conſul's houſe, at hours of prayer. The conſuls ſhall have liberty and perſonal ſecurity given them, to travel within the territories of each other, both by land and ſea, and ſhall not be prevented from going on board any veſſel that they may think proper to viſit. They ſhall have likewiſe the liberty to appoint their own drogomaa and brokers.

Art. 15. In caſe of any diſpute ariſing from the violation of any of the articles of this treaty, no appeal ſhall be made to

arms; nor ſhall war be declared on any pretext whatever; but if the conſul reſiding at the place where the diſpute ſhall happen, ſhall not be able to ſettle the ſame, the government of that country ſhall ſtate their grievances in writing, and tranſmit it to the government of the other; and the period of the twelve calender months ſhall be allowed for anſwers to be returned, during which time no act of hoſtility ſhall be permitted by either party; and in caſe the grievances are not redreſſed, and a war ſhould be the event, the conſuls and citizens, or ſubjects of both parties reciprocally, ſhall be permitted to embark with their effects unmoleſted, on board of what veſſel or veſſels they ſhall think proper.

Art. 16. If in the fluctuation of human events, a war ſhould break out between the two nations, the priſoners captured by either party ſhall not be made ſlaves, but ſhall be exchanged rank for rank. And if there ſhould be a deficiency on either ſide, it ſhall be made up by the payment of five hundred Spaniſh dollars for each captain, three hundred dollars for each mate and ſupercargo, and one hundred Spaniſh dollars for each ſeaman ſo wanting. And it is agreed that priſoners ſhall be exchanged in twelve months from the time of their capture; and that the exchange may be effected by any private individual legally authoriſed by either of the parties.

Art. 17. If any of the Barbary ſtates, or other powers, at war with the United States of America, ſhall capture any American veſſel, and ſend her into any of the ports of the regency of Tripoli, they ſhall not be permitted to ſell her, but ſhall be obliged to depart the port, on procuring the requiſite ſupplies of proviſions; and no duty ſhall be exacted on the ſale of prizes, captured by the veſſels ſailing under the flag of the United States of America, when brought into any port of the regency of Tripoli.

Art. 18. If any of the citizens of the United States, or any perſons under their protection, ſhall have any diſputes with each other, the conſul ſhall decide between the parties, and

whenever the conful fhall require any aid or affiftance from the government of Tripoli to enforce his decifions, it fhall immediately be granted to him; and if any difpute fhall arife between any citizen of the United States and the citizens or fubjects of any other nation, having a conful or agent in Tripoli, fuch difputes fhall be fettled by the confuls or agents of the refpective nations.

Art. 19. If a citizen of the United States fhould kill or wound a Tripoline; or, on the contrary, if a Tripoline fhall kill or wound a citizen of the United States, the law of the country fhall take place, and equal juftice fhall be rendered, the conful affifting at the trial. And if any delinquent fhall make his efcape, the conful fhall not be anfwerable for him in any manner whatever.

Art. 20. Should any of the citizens of the United States of America, die within the limits of the regency of Tripoli, the Bafhaw and his fubjects fhall not interfere with the property of the deceafed, but it fhall be under the immediate directions of the conful, unlefs otherwife difpofed of by will. Should there be no conful, the effects fhall be depofited in the hands of fome perfon worthy of truft, until the party fhall appear who has a right to demand them, when they fhall render an account of the property. Neither fhall the Bafhaw or his fubjects give hindrance in the execution of any will that may appear.

[*Signed with the names of both the contracting parties.*]

LIST OF THE NAVAL FORCE

Which might have been employed before Tripoli, by the middle of July, actually at rendezvous at Syracufe, the fourth and eleventh.—

Frigates—

1	Prefident,	44 guns.
2	Conftitution,	44

3 Congrefs,	36	guns.
4 Conftellation,	36	
5 Effex,	32	
6 John Adams,	32	
Brigs.—		
1 Argus,	18	
2 Syren,	18	
3 Vixen,	14	
4 Franklin,	8	
Schooners.—		
1 Enterprize,	14	
2 Nautilus,	14	
Sloop.—		
1 Hornet,	8	

Carrying in all 318 guns & mortars

Gun-Boats from the Uuited States.—

No. 1 not fail'd.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

7 not arrived.

Nos. 8, 9.

Gun-boats from Tripoli—two.

Gun-boats from the Adriatic—fix.

Total number of guns, including 33 belonging to the gun-boats, 351.

Commodore Preble attacked Tripoli fuccefsfully with lefs than one third this force; and with no collateral circumftances in his favour.

This force, in co-operation with Eaton and the Ex-Bafhaw, would undoubtedly have coerced the tyrant of Tripoli in a very fhort time.

The fize of this volume will not admit of my mentioning much more of the public tranfactions of the United States with Tripoli; but as the cafe of David Valenzin, the Jew,

has been hinted at, I ſhall here inſert the report of the committee of claims, to whom was referred the petition of the ſaid David Valenzin; by which it will be ſeen, that it was the evident intention of Commodore Morris, and ſome other gentlemen of the navy, to have defrauded him of his caſh, as they had of his liberty—that he was ſuffered to languiſh in painful ſuſpenſe for a long time, deſtitute of food and clothing, when in fact he had two thouſand ſixty-four dollars and eleven cents in the bank of diſcount and depoſit, in the place where he was; and that this cruel treatment was the cauſe of his death.

REPORT

Of the Committee of Claims, to whom was referred the petition of DAVID VALENZIN.

UNDER the peculiar circumſtances of this caſe, your committee feel it a duty they owe to the Houſe and to themſelves, not only to preſent the facts which have governed their opinion, but alſo to ſtate minutely the whole progreſs of the enquiry.

The petition was referred to the committee on the 10th day of November, 1804. It was accompanied by no evidence whatever. Neither the petitioner, nor any perſon in his behalf, appeared to exhibit proof in ſupport of the claim, or to point out the ſource from which it might be obtained. It was not even known to any member of the committee by whom the petition was preſented. On the 15th November, the committee thought proper to tranſmit the petition to the Secretary of the Navy, with a requeſt that he would furniſh whatever evidence might exiſt in his department, reſpecting the tranſactions complained of by the petitioner. The anſwer of the Secretary was neceſſarily delayed until Commodore Morris, who was then in the Potomac, and hourly expected, ſhould arrive in this city. On the 20th November, the committee

received from the Secretary the documents which accompanied their former report. The only information derived from these documents, which could reflect any light upon the subject, was a declaration subscribed by Commodore Morris, in which it was stated that on the 17th January, 1803, Lieut. Sterrett, by his order, captured and brought in for trial the Imperial polacca Paulina, Lucca Radifh, master, bound from Malta to Tripoli, having on board Tripoline subjects, among whom was David Valenzin, the petitioner, who appeared principal in the charter-party and claimant of the greater part of the cargo; that the commodore attempted to procure an adjudication of the prize at Malta, but was refused by the governor of that island; that he then proceeded to Gibraltar, in the hope of trying the validity of the capture at that place, but the Duke of Kent, then governor of Gibraltar, declined taking cognizance of the affair; that he was compelled in consequence to send the papers with the Tripolitan to America; that David Valenzin was, at the time of the capture, a subject of the Bey of Tripoli, the papers which had been secreted by him, clearly proving him to be such; and that he was declared to be so both by Mr. Cathcart and his own servant.

From this representation alone the committee did not feel themselves justified in recommending any relief for the petitioner; at the same time apprehensive that other facts might exist material in the case, they delayed their report until the 12th December, when, no further evidence appearing, the report, with the papers received from the navy department, was presented to the House. Upon the suggestion of a member in his place, that the petitioner had expressed to him a desire to be heard before the committee, and that evidence would be adduced to establish the claim, the report and petition were ordered to be recommitted. The committee convened the next morning, and the petitioner appeared, attended by a stranger, who being acquainted with the petitioner's language, had kindly offered to assist him as an interpreter. The petitioner then

declared himſelf a Jew, born at Venice; that his mother dying when he was ſixteen years old, his father removed to Tripoli, where he eſtabliſhed himſelf as a merchant; that his brother and himſelf arriving to years of maturity, left their father and commenced buſineſs at Roſetta, in Egypt, from whence, for many years paſt, they had carried on a circuitous Traffic with Tripoli, through Smyrna and Malta; that in one of theſe voyages he was captured by the American ſquadron, diveſted of all his property and papers, and ſent a priſoner to this country, where he had long expected a trial; that he had been offered his liberty, by the Secretary of the Navy, and a paſſage to the Mediterranean, in a public veſſel, which he had declined until the legality of his capture ſhould be determined; that he knew not what diſpoſition had been made of his effects, nor in what way to obtain his papers.

After hearing the petitioner, the committee the ſame morning addreſſed a letter to the Secretary of the navy, requeſting further information in the caſe, if in his power to furniſh it; particularly, what diſpoſition had been made of the polacca? For what purpoſe Valenzin had been brought a priſoner to the United States? And in whoſe poſſeſſion were his papers, if any were found upon him at the time of his capture? The anſwer, which is ſaid to furniſh the only official information, relative to the caſe, exiſting in that department, contained a letter from Daniel C. Heath, prize-maſter on board the polacca. This letter, the writer of which, it is underſtood, immediately left the city on a furlough, barely ſtates that the prize, by order of Commodore Morris, had been delivered up to Lucca Radiſh, her commander; that he knew not why Valenzin was brought hither as a priſoner; and that his papers were committed to the care of Lieut. Sterrett. As no notice was taken in this letter of the petitioner's property, the committee were left to conclude that it had paſſed with the polacca into the hands of her captain, nor were they undeceived in this reſpect until ſome time afterwards. They alſo remained igno-

rant in whofe hands the papers were depofited until the morning of the 27th December, when, by accident, they learned that the marfhal of the diftrict of Maryland had them in his cuftody. The committee made no delay in communicating this fact to the Houfe. A refolution was inftantly adopted, empowering the committee to fend for fuch perfons and papers as might be neceffary to the inveftigation of the claim.— They availed themfelves of this authority by iffuing their warrant and difpatching a meffenger to Baltimore the next day. He returned on the 30th with all the papers and documents faid to have been found on board the polacca at the time fhe was captured. Thefe were numerous, written partly in Arabic, partly in a corrupt dialect of the Italian, fpoken on the coaft of Barbary, and wholly unintelligible to every member of the committee. By the aid, however, of two gentlemen in the Houfe acquainted with the Italian language, they were enabled to make fome progrefs in tranflating a few of what appeared the moft important documents. Whilft the committee were thus employed, Commodore Morris, who had taken his departure fhortly after his communication already mentioned, returned to this city, and at the requeft of the committee, immediately appeared before them. He repeated the ftatement he had before given, and feemed confident that the petitioner was a Tripolitan, rightfully captured, and his property lawful prize; that he had two complete fetts of papers, the one clearly fhewing him to be a fubject of Tripoli; the other, of a more recent date, fraudulently calculated to prove him a fubject of the Emperor of Germany; the latter being readily produced by him at the time of his capture, whilft the former were found concealed in the bottom of a cafk. He added, that as the polacca was not in a condition to crofs the Atlantic, he had ordered her to be delivered to Lucca Radifh, the mafter; and *as the property taken from the petitioner was of a perifhable nature, he had directed it to be fold at Malta, for the benefit of the captors.* The committee being thus, for the firft

time, informed of the ſale of the petitioner's property, were particular in their enquiries as to its amount, and the manner and proceeds of the ſale. To theſe enquiries the commodore made no other anſwer than by referring the committee to Mr. Heath, the prize-maſter, who, he made no doubt, would furniſh all the neceſſary information on the ſubject. Mr. Heath, it appeared, had left Waſhington the 20th December, the day on which his letter to the Secretary of the Navy was delivered to the committee, nor could it be aſcertained by the moſt diligent enquiries, in what direction he had gone. This circumſtance, added to the extreme difficulty of decyphering the petitioner's papers; the doubtful evidence which reſulted even from ſuch as could be tranſlated, and the reſerve, manifeſted by thoſe who poſſeſſed originally the means of information, ſerved to produce a delay which the committee deeply regretted, but which, by their utmoſt efforts, they could not avoid. Being informed that William Eaton, Eſq. late conſul at Tunis, was daily expected in Waſhington; that he had ſeen the petitioner in the Mediterranean, and was well acquainted with his language, the committee indulged a hope that from him, at leaſt, ſome uſeful information might at length be derived.

Meanwhile it was perceived that the petitioner's apparel was not ſuch as to render him comfortable during the inclemency of the ſeaſon; believing the government bound to provide him with neceſſary food and clothing until the proper meaſures were taken for his liberation, the committee on the 5th January, addreſſed a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, in which they freely communicated to him the embarraſſments they experienced in the inveſtigation—the further delay which muſt inevitably attend it—the deſtitute condition of the petitioner—and requeſting to be informed whether, as the head of a department, he did not conſider it compatible with his duty to make ſome temporary proviſion for the petitioner's relief. To this letter an anſwer was received the 17th of the ſame

month. On that day Mr. Eaton, who had juſt arrived, attended the committee. He aſſiſted them in further tranſlating the Italian, but was unable to interpret the Arabic originals, the import of which is ſtill undiſcovered. From an attentive examination of the papers, one circumſtance appeared ſtrongly marked. In ſuch as bore date prior to the commencement of hoſtilities between the United States and Tripoli, wherever the petitioner's name occurred, he was uniformly denominated *a ſubject of Tripoli*. In thoſe dated ſubſequent to that event he was as uniformly ſtyled an *Auſtrian* or *Imperial ſubject*. The former are thoſe which were ſaid to be ſecreted at the time of his capture. Amongſt the latter is a paſſport, purporting to be ſigned by the Imperial Conſul at Roſetta. The unfavourable preſumption which naturally aroſe from conduct ſo equivocal, was in ſome meaſure removed by the remarks of Mr. Eaton; who declared it as his opinion, that *Jews*, (and the petitioner was evidently of the number) throughout the coaſts of the Mediterranean, were not conſidered as the proper ſubjects of any nation: particularly that none of the Barbary powers would, in any caſe, recogniſe them as ſuch—unleſs for ſome ſpecial or mercenary purpoſe; and finally, that the petitioner appeared to him one of thoſe *ſea-pedlars*, (ſuch was his expreſſion) who are frequently found in that part of the world, but whoſe reſidence is never known.

At this ſtage of the enquiry your committee did not deem it ſo eſſential to decide the propriety of the original capture, as to diſcover whether the captors had conformed to the requirements of law, in relation to the priſoner or the prize.—No certain evidence had yet been obtained of the amount and value of the property taken—nor indeed of its actual ſale.

Accidentally hearing, on the 17th January, that the account of ſales had been returned to the navy department, and the proceeds depoſited in the bank, the committee immediately wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, deſiring informa-

tion on these points. His answer, of the next day, did not communicate the information desired, inasmuch as no returns, it seemed, had been made to that department. The secretary, however, mentions that he had heard, informally, a sum of money had been deposited in the bank by the prize-master, which was said to have proceeded from the sale of Valenzin's property.

The presence of Mr. Heath now appeared to your committee indispensable. A suggestion that he might be at Havre-de-Grace, or at Dover, had induced them to write him as early as the 11th January, directed to both those places, but without success. On the 19th the committee made out their warrant, and sent a messenger in pursuit of him. On the morning of the next day, it is understood, the unfortunate petitioner, in a moment of insanity, put a period to his own existence!

Notwithstanding this melancholy catastrophe, your committee have thought it their duty to complete, as far as might be in their power, the enquiry they had thus far pursued; and as the messenger returned with Mr. Heath on Sunday last, they have since proceeded to take his examination, which is subjoined, and which appears to be a free disclosure of all the circumstances attending his management of the prize. He testifies, after explaining the time and manner of the capture, that David Valenzin, and several other prisoners, were put on board the Enterprize, and sent to Tunis; from which place he received the order of Commodore Morris, to deliver to the Bey of Tunis, or his order, the greater part of the cargo.—The residue being the property of David Valenzin, and but a small proportion of it in a perishing condition, was sold by order of the commodore, and the sales completed by the 8th June, 1803. The gross amount of sales was $ 2,665 70—the nett proceeds, after deducting charges and expences, were $ 2,144 11. This sum, after deducting five doubloons paid to Commodore Morris, leaving a balance of 2,064 dollars 11

cts. was by him depofited, with the approbation of the Secretary of the Navy, in the bank of difcount and depofit in this city, on the 17th December, 1803. On which day alfo he left his papers relative to the difpofal of the cargo with Mr. Goldfborough, clerk in the navy department.

From the whole evidence, thus collected, your committee are clearly of opinion, that in whatever light the original capture is to be viewed, the difpofition of the prize was irregular and illegal. If it was the intention of the captors to confummate their right to the property captured, it was obvioufly their duty to tranfmit the fame, accompanied by the neceffary papers, without delay, to the United States, for adjudication. Even admitting the propriety of felling fuch of the prize goods as were in a perifhing condition, ftill the refidue, with the proceeds of fuch as were neceffarily fold, might and ought to have been thus tranfmitted at the time the prifoner was fent to the United States. By the fale of the property under the attending circumftances, it is worthy of confideration, whether a ferious, if not an infurmountable obftacle may not have been created to a trial of the validity of the capture in a court of maritime jurifdiction. To fubject the claimant or claimants to the inconvenience and expence of feeking redrefs from the ordinary courts of law in a cafe fo fituated, can be neither right nor reafonable. Juftice, therefore, evidently requires that provifion be made by the legiflature for their indemnification.

Your committee are alfo of opinion, that until David Valenzin was duly liberated from his imprifonment, an obligation refted upon the government of the United States to provide for his decent fupport; and that of courfe, the individuals who have generoufly contributed to his neceffities, and who have defrayed the expence of his interment, ought to be remunerated. With thefe impreffions, your committee refpectfully offer to the Houfe the following refolutions, viz.

Refolved, That provifion ought to be made by law for reftoring to the legal reprefentatives of David Valenzin, the value of the property captured from him in the Mediterranean, by the American fquadron, in the month of January, 1803.

Refolved, That provifion ought to be made by law for indemnifying the individuals who, during the imprifonment of the faid David Valenzin, contributed to his fupport—and who have defrayed the expences of his interment.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER XVI.

RETURN HOME.

I HAVE before mentioned, that on the 5th of June, 1805, I entered on board the United States frigate Eſſex, of which Capt. Cox was then commander. The next morning we ſailed for Syracuſe, and arrived there a few days after.—There were a great number ſick on board the ſhip, and two of the Philadelphia's crew, James Ingalſon and John Garrabant, ſoon after died. This place was the rendezvous of our ſquadron. There we lay till about the middle of July. While here I went aſhore, and meeting a Mr. Irving, we propoſed viſiting the cave of Dionyſius. We hired a boy to conduct us thither for a quarter of a dollar; it is about two miles from town. We paſſed through ſeveral very pleaſant gardens, groves of orange trees, and beautiful vineyards. When we came to the entrance of the cave, he ſtruck fire and lighted a torch. We entered it by a gradual deſcent. It is hewn out of a ſolid rock. I do not exactly know the dimenſions of it; but ſhould ſuppoſe it to be about 100 feet in length, 40 in breadth and 30 in height. At the top it is quite narrow, and at the farthermoſt end of it is a winding communication to the palace of the tyrant, where he uſed to ſit and ſate his infernal ears with the groans of his ſubjects. This communication, from its ingenious conſtruction, is called Dionyſius' ear. It is formed in ſuch a winding manner as to convey a low whiſper, to the apartment above, in diſtinct accents. Our guide fired off a piſtol, which made a report louder than a 24 pounder in the open air. Here are to be ſeen the ſtaples and rings in the ſides of the wall, where the wretched victims of a deſpot's cruelty were often faſtened, to groan out their lives

in tortures, merely for the amuſement of their tormentor.—They were placed in an erect poſture againſt the wall—an iron ring around their necks—their arms extended and pinned to the wall, and their feet chained to the floor. In this ſituation many a hapleſs wretch, without the leaſt ſhadow of a crime, has waſted his life in fruitleſs lamentations and excruciating agonies. Juſt releaſed from Turkiſh ſlavery, the reflections and ſenſations, which a ſight like this inſpired, are to be conceived, but not deſcribed.

Contiguous to the cave is a ſpacious amphitheatre, cut out of the like ſtone. It is covered with moſs, and very much decayed.

On our return we vſited the catacombs. Their entrance is through a Church, where we found a grey old Italian, who lighted a torch, and conducted us into this ſubterraneous repoſitory of the dead. It is partitioned into vaults—about twelve feet wide, arched, and between ſeven and eight feet in height.

From the time I was liberated from Tripoli, until my arrival in America, I was conſidered as, and did the duty of captain's clerk. As I contemplate publiſhing a pamphlet, ſupplementary to this volume, I muſt beg to be excuſed for an abrupt concluſion.

END

POETRY,

PUBLISHED IN

The Albany Register,

DURING THE SUMMER OF 1807.

BY WILLIAM RAY.

POETRY.



INDEPENDENCE.

TUNE—"*Anacreon in Heaven.*"

MORE free than the Mohawk that glides thro' our plains,
  Republicans! meet round this joyous libation;
From freedom-bleſt millions reſound the bold ſtrains—
  From earth-tilling peaſants, the lords of our nation,
      Loud echoes to fame,
      The day ſhall proclaim,
      That gave Independence her blood-written name,
And own'd Nature's equal eternal decree—
Heav'n ne'er form'd you ſlaves—man was born to live free.

While JEFFERSON o'er us ſublimely ſits head,
  No treaſon the league-union'd ſtates can diſſever;

Of freedom the guardian—of tyrants the dread,
His name will grow dearer and dearer forever;
When worlds cannot ſave—
Green garlands ſhall wave,
And Liberty bloſſom o'er Jefferſon's grave,
To prove nature's equal eternal decree—
Heav'n ne'er form'd us ſlaves—man was born to live free.

From no haughty lordlings our tenures we hold,
From natives we bought the rich ſoil we inherit,
Our great and our mighty—the wiſe and the bold,
The badge of their pow'r is the pledge of their merit;
If, traitors, they yield
The blood-purchas'd field
No wealth ſhall avail them—no dignity ſhield;
They curſe Nature's equal eternal decree—
Heav'n ne'er form'd us ſlaves—man was born to live free.

Where late yell'd the ſavage, and wolves howl'd for prey,
Gay villages riſe and the arts flouriſh round us;
And ſcience forth beams like the dawning of day,
Nor earth holds our commerce, nor ocean can bound us;
Lo! India's vaſt ſhore
Our ſeamen explore!
See Lybia's wild deſerts an EATON march o'er!
To prove Nature's equal eternal decree—
Heav'n ne'er form'd us ſlaves—man was born to live free.

Thoſe heav'n-belov'd heroes, who fought, bled and died,
To give us our wiſdom-built free conſtitution,
Stars mounting, the ruins of time ſhall outride—
Their virtues out-blazon the earth's diſſolution!
Through death's darkeſt gloom
Freſh laurels ſhall bloom,
And youth ſpring immortal from Waſhingtons's tomb!

To prove Nature's final eternal decree—
Heav'n ne'er form'd us ſlaves—man was born to live free.

Then free as yon Mohawk that glides through the plains,
Republicans! meet round this joyous libation;
From freedom-bleſt millions reſound the bold ſtrains—
From earth-tilling peaſants, the lords of our nation,
Loud echoes to fame,
The day ſhall proclaim,
That gave Independence her blood-written name,
And own'd Nature's equal eternal decree—
Heav'n ne'er form'd us ſlaves—man was born to live free.

Amſterdam, July 4, 1807.

WAR;

OR A PROSPECT OF IT,

From recent inſtances of Britiſh outrage.

VOT'RIES of Freedom, arm!
The Britiſh Lion roars!
Legions of valor, take th' alarm—
Ruſh, ruſh to guard our ſhores!

Behold the horrid deed—
Your brethren gaſping lie!
Beneath a tyrant's hand they bleed—
They groan—they faint—they die.

Vet'rans of ſeventy-ſix,
Awake the ſlumb'ring ſword!
Hearts of your murd'rous foes transfix—
'Tis vengeance gives the word.

Remember Lexington,
And Bunker's tragic hill;
The ſame who ſpilt your blood thereon,
Your blood again would ſpill.

Ye who have ſeen your wives,
Your children, and your ſires,
To Britiſh ruffians yield their lives,
And roaſt in ſavage fires;

Our cities loſt in flames—
Your mothers captive led—
Riſe and avenge their injur'd names,
Ye kindred of the dead.

But not Revenge alone,
Should urge you to the field!
Let Duty lead you firmly on,
And Juſtice be your ſhield.

Sure as we fail to join
  And cruſh our impious foes,
War, fire and ſword, and death combine,
  And woes ſucceed to woes.

Behold, with bluſhes red,
  The ſea like blood appears;
Our ſtreams are bridg'd with fancied dead,
  And brim'd with orphans' tears;

But Union can perform
  The wonders of a hoſt—
Avert the danger, quell the ſtorm,
  And drive them from our coaſt.

Unite, and ſide by ſide
  Meet vict'ry or your graves;
That moment we in War divide,
  That moment we are ſlaves.

July 20, 1807.

CASH.

WISE moralifts in vain have told
How fordid is the love of gold,
  Which they call filthy trafh;
Thou ftranger of thefe eyes of mine,
Ten thoufand virtues ftill are thine,
  Thou all-fufficient CASH!

Though thy intrinfic worth be fmall,
Yet, money, thou art all in all—
  Though tranfient as a flafh,
In paffing juft from hand to hand,
The earth is at thy fole command—
  It gravitates to CASH.

Poffefs'd of thee, we may defy
Not death itfelf—but very nigh,
  For when the tyrant's lafh
Is felt (and ah! 'twas felt by me),
It *did*—it *will* the vaffal free—
  Then who defpifes CASH?

By nature void of ev'ry grace,
If thou haft (reader! view thy face)
  But this cofmetic wafh;
'Twill whiten and improve the fkin,
Thy monkey-nofe, thy cheeks, thy chin,
  Are beautified by CASH.

And though your mental pow'rs be weak,
(To you who money have I fpeak)
  Ne'er fear to cut a dafh;
For men of genius and of fenfe,
If *poor*, will make a *poor* defence
  Againft the man of CASH.

Or, ſhould you for the baſeſt crimes,
Become indicted fifty times,
  This ſettles all the haſh;
For bills which leave the poor no hope
T' eſcape the dungeon, or the rope,
  Are cancell'd, all, by CASH.

Nay, 'twill be found that money can
The grovelling beaſt transform to man,
  Though diff'rent natures claſh;
For 'tis a fact beyond hiſpute,
The miſer's far beneath the brute—
  A lump of living CASH.

And yet what crowds around him wait—
Behold him cloth'd in pow'r and ſtate—
  The garter, ſtar and ſaſh;
Fools fly before the potent nod
Of him whoſe fleſh, whoſe ſoul, whoſe God,
  Whoſe heav'n itſelf is CASH.

But, ſons of Plutus, leſt you go
To thoſe infernal *mines* below,
  Where teeth are ſaid to gnaſh,
Give to the needy—bribe the grave—
O, if you wiſh your ſouls to ſave,
  Be gen'rous of your CASH.

TRIUMPH OF PRINCIPLES

In the election of Governor TOMPKINS.—*Quidiſm deprecated.*

CALL'D to the governmental chair,
By half a million's voice;
A character ſo bright, ſo fair,
Is worthy of the choice.

A name, expiring envy owns,
Has robb'd her of her breath;
And fell detraction vents her groans,
As in the pangs of death.

And malice caſts a dying glance,
And bites her ſerpent-tongue—
For all ſhe ever could advance,
Was—"*Tompkins is too young!*"

And youth is an atrocious crime,
—Devoid of ſenſe or wit—
So Walpole, on a certain time,
Declar'd to William Pitt.

When William, ſaucy youth, replied,
Though vaſt your life appears,
Your crimes, your follies and your pride,
Are equal to your years.

No matter whether *young* or *old*—
Where born, of *whom* or *when;*
For true republicans all hold
To *principles*—not *men.*

And now, while war impending low'rs,
And threatens to deſcend;
From diſcord, O ye gracious pow'rs,
Our citizens defend.

From governors, though grey with age,
  Who baſe apoſtates prove,
And ſacrifice to party rage
  Their patriotic love:

From ſenators who ſtrive to bribe
  The councils of the ſtate,
And all the treaſon-fav'ring tribe,
  However *would-be* great:

From demagogues of ev'ry name,
  Who all their arts employ,
The people's paſſions to enflame—
  The people to deſtroy.

The monarchiſt, we often find,
  Is loyal to his king;
The hog acts after his own kind,
  The ſcorpion hath his ſting:

Some fed'raliſts are men of *worth*,
  Some virtues have, though hid;
But, of all animals on earth,
  O ſave us from the *Quid!*

TO THE MEMORY OF COMMODORE PREBLE.

WHILE WAR, fierce monſter, ſtain'd with guiltleſs blood,
Roars, threats, and rages round th' infuriate flood;
While hoſtile Britons murd'ring fleets employ
T' infeſt our harbours and our ſhips deſtroy—
Impreſs our tars in their inglorious cauſe,
In baſe defiance of all nations' laws;
When each bold vet'ran, in his country's name,
Is call'd to ſave her freedom and her fame;
When few whoſe brav'ry and whoſe nautic ſkill
Can duly execute her ſovereign will;
What ſighs of ſorrow waft from ſhore to ſhore,
With theſe ſad tidings—"*Preble is no more!*"

Erſt when mad Tripoli, in prowefs vain,
With her rapacious corſairs block'd the main;
Pour'd round our ſhips in predatory ſwarms,
With purple banners and audacious arms—
Our neutral cargoes plunder'd on the waves,
And made our free-born citizens her ſlaves;
When our late frigate groan'd upon the ſhoals,
So deeply freighted with three hundred ſouls,
Who ſigh'd in durance till yon lamp of night
Full twenty changes had renew'd its light,
'Twas *Preble* firſt that dauntleſs ſquadron led,
Where *Somers* periſh'd, and *Decatur* bled;
Where *Wadſworth*, *Iſrael*, met in death their fate,
With kindred martyrs equally as great;
'Twas *Preble* firſt thoſe barb'rous pirates ſhow'd—
JUSTICE *was all the tribute that we ow'd*,
And prov'd that when Columbia vengeance bears,
'Tis nought but *mercy* that the victim ſpares.

Let Britiſh bards, in mercenary lays,
Chaunt forth elegiac ſtrains to Nelſon's praiſe;

Though oft victorious, and though madly brave,
He fought that tyranny might crush the slave;
He fought that tyrants o'er the world might rule,
And died a mad-man, as he liv'd a fool.

But *Preble's* cause e'en heav'n itself might own,
In heav'n 'tis cherish'd, and through earth 'tis known!
In heav'n 'tis warbled from enraptured choirs,
It charms their numbers, and it tunes their lyres—
The cause of FREEDOM—dear to him who knows
The adverse horrors, and the poignant woes
Of slav'ry, dungeons, hunger, stripes and chains,
With dismal prospects of augmented pains!
To free the captive, noble, gen'rous deed,
Who would not swear to fight, or sigh to bleed?
To free the captive, *Preble* wing'd his aid,
And greater valor never was display'd.
When round our prison's solitary walls
Burst the dread meteor-bomb-shells—rain'd the balls!
Our hearts for liberty or death beat high,
And who for freedom would not wish to die?
To him we look'd, on him our hopes relied—
The friend of seamen, and the seaman's pride;
To him we look'd, and righteous heav'n implor'd
To speed the vengeance of his slaught'ring sword;
Nor is he now, though vain his efforts prov'd,
The less lamented or the less belov'd;
But each late captive, year succeeding year,
Will bless his mem'ry, and his name revere.

Yes, gallant chief! though virtuous, just and brave,
Thine is the lot of man—the dreary grave!
With heroes sainted, who have gone before,
Like them we priz'd thee, and like them deplore!
And though thine arm, of Barb'ry once the dread,

Lies cold and wither'd 'midſt the unconſcious dead,
Unfading laurels at thy name ſhall bloom,
Spring from thy duſt, and flouriſh round thy tomb!

Lamented chief! though death be calmly paſt,
Our Navy trembled when he breath'd his laſt!
Our Navy mourns him, but it mourns in vain,
A *Preble* ne'er will live—ne'er die again!
Yet hope deſponding, at the thought revives,
A ſecond *Preble!*—a *Decatur* lives!
His worth, *his* merit, *well* are underſtood,
His hand is ſkilful and his heart is good;
Bold ſhall he chaſe yon demons of the wave,
For all who know him—know him to be brave.

To him Columbia caſts her ſtreaming eyes,
Wipes their free torrent, and ſuſpends her ſighs.
September 7th, 1807.

SPRING.

[*Published in the* NORTHERN BUDGET—*Troy, May* 3, 1808.]

How pleasing, now, to range the fields,
When nature all her fragrance yields,
And when she deigns to bring,
Of vernal joys, the green-rob'd train,
Who dance, enraptur'd, o'er the plain,
Led by the charmer, SPRING.

The lambs their sprightly gambols play,
The birds awake the matin lay,
And mount upon the wing—
Convene, and, forming dulcet choirs,
Sate their chaste, innocent desires,
And hail the smiling SPRING.

Not the sweet voices of the *Nine*,
Should *Orpheus* and *Apollo* join,
And each attune the string,
Could half the music yield, for me,
As, warbling from yon bush and tree,
The melody of SPRING.

Though, naked and forlorn, the trees
(Like sailors shipwreck'd on the seas)
Late felt the Winter's sting,
'Tis thine to clothe them, and to warm,
To feed them——to repel the storm—
So beautiful is SPRING.

Though modern bards, and those of yore,
Have sung thy praises o'er and o'er,
Again the Muse shall sing
Of all thy virtues, and thy pow'r
To charm the bud into a flow'r,
Thou soul-enliv'ning SPR[illegible]

Confin'd to cities' noiſy ſports,
Whether in Congreſs, or in courts,
'Tis but a joyleſs thing;
Midſt the dull round of pleaſures ſtale,
The cit but ſeldom can inhale
The balmy breath of SPRING.

While tumults craze the heads of ſtate,
The rich, voluptuous and the great,
Or Preſident, or King;
The peaſant, in his homely fare,
Devoid of titles, wealth or care,
Taſtes all the ſweets of SPRING.

But ſince the faireſt flow'r muſt fade—
Muſt meet deſtruction all that's made,
When Death his dart ſhall fling,
Let us enjoy the paſſing hour,
Till we arrive where ev'ry flow'r
Blooms in eternal SPRING.

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